1958-1959 WORKERS VANGUARD, correspondence & documents
Socialist Education League/League for Socialist Action/Young Socialists
**Archival Items listed for information only, on file or at National Archives*

1958

1958-01Jan	***Workers Vanguard*** Cut work-week says UAW
*1958-Jan	NATO pact trembles – people want peace
*1958-Jan	Edit – Alter the course – CCF MPs! (unemployment)
1958-01Jan	Letter: Protests slander (from CCF leader Bryden)
1958-01Jan	Windsor jobless unite – Cut work week - UAW
1958-01Jan	Mexican painter Diego Rivera -artist in machine age
1958-02Feb27	RD to H. Gagnon, Mtl.
1958-02Feb	Jobs for all! Peace! Vote for socialism (Dowson interview)
1958-02Feb	Jobless meet for action now (E. Tait) -photo Paddy Stanton
*1958-Feb	(text) Jobs for all! Peace! Vote for socialism -Dowson
*1958-Feb	What we got from the Liberals –What we get from Tories
*1958-Feb	Editorial – Petition against H Bomb!
1958-03Mar8-1a	Letter to H. Gagnon, Mtl.
1958-03Mar31	Letter to H. Gagnon, Mtl.
***1958-Mar**	Vote socialist in Broadview – Vote CCF across Canada
1958-04Apr1-1	Letter to C. Kinghorn, Mtl.
1958-04Apr8-1	to Milton Acorn, Mtl. (letter to RD & poems attached)
1958-04Apr20-1	Letter to H. Gagnon, Mtl.
1958-04Apr22-1	Letter to R. Haddow, Mtl.

1958-04Apr	Que. Students hit Duplessis (correction - no CCF arms vote)
*1958-Apr	Montreal leads with regroupment forum
*1958-Apr	Edits - Calling all socialists! Where is CCF going?
*1958-Apr	CCF failures aided Tories
*1958-Apr	Editorial: Where is the CCF going?
1958-04Apr	Youth Forum in Toronto has considerable promise
1958-04Apr	SEL campaign real success
1958-05May	Document: Regroupment – Montreal – Immediate Tasks
1958-05May4	to C. Kinghorn, Mtl.
1958-05May4-2	Letter to B. Batten, Mtl.
1958-05May13-1	Letter to American Forum, New York
1958-05May13-2a	Letter to B. (Batten), Mtl.
1958-05May 18	Letter to H. Gagnon, Mtl.
1958-05May19	Letter to J. Godin, Mtl.
1958-05May	Scientists cry halt deadly H Bomb tests
1958-05May	Protest against bomb tests – across the globe
*1958-May	Protests rise around world against H-Bomb tests
1958-05May	What next for CCF and labor political action
1958-05May	Cuba (Intnl. Notes) Castro calls for general strike
1958-06June2-1	Letter to Socialist Forum, Mtl.
1958-06June20	Letter to a left CCFer (Fred Hensler); Sub tour on Prairies
1958-06Jun	*Vanguard* June 1958 – (SEL) Program on unemployment
1958-06Jun	Time for action against murderous H Bomb tests

1958-07Jul	Photo – 300 at Toronto anti-H Bomb demonstration
*1958-Jun	Time for action against murderous H-Bomb tests
*1958-Jun	Vanguard campaigners meet Duplessis' henchmen
1958-07July22-1	Letter to delegates to CCF National Convention
1958-07July 22-2	Letter to Bruce and Bunny (Batten, Mtl.)
1958-07July 25	Letter to Bruce and Bunny (Batten, Mtl.)
1958-07July 28	Letter to Henri Gagnon, Mtl.
*1958-Jul	Editorial - No nuclear arms for Canada
1958-07Jul	Opposes H Bomb tests (Hamilton CCF resolution)
*1958-Jul	Edit – No nuclear arms for Canada
1958-07Jul	BC CCF urges break from NATO
1958-07Jul	For return to socialist policies -Hamilton pickets block train
1958-07Jul	Second trans-Canada (Vanguard) tour scores successes
1958-08Aug1	Letter to J. Godin, Mtl.
1958-08Aug7	Letter to G. B. Recommending Guerin books; book list
1958-08Aug	CCFers-SEL discuss views in Winnipeg
1958-08Aug	Labor party endorsed by CCF national convention
1958-08Aug	CCF reaffirms support of NATO – Left fails to oppose
1958-08Aug	'30 for 40' UAW for short week – Trade Union Notes
*1958-Aug	Tory Mideast policy front imperialists (RD)
*1958-Aug	Edit. – Let the people vote on issue of war or peace
1958-09Sept	The Senate is a bastion of bosses' power (R.D.)
1958-10Oct99a	Aircrafter'' (UAW) paper: ''Civil rights usurped''(Tate Case)

1958-10Oct99c (draft article) R.D. on Tate ‘’vagrancy’’ case

*1958-Oct15 A labor party – class party or liberal-labor coalition

1958-10Oct Bar UAW local's delegate from CCF convention

1958-10Oct Ranks disturb CCF-CLC brass in BC meet on New Party

1958-10Oct Labor party, not Liberal-Labor coalition

1958-10Oct Fusion of CCF with unions – a right turn?

1958-10Oct Your help needed to raise $2000 (*Vanguard*) Fund

1958-10Oct Stood on rights, convicted 'vag' had $600 bank book

1958-11Nov5 Letter to Bunny & Bruce, re: stop for British Trotskyist leader

1958-11Nov99a Vote Labor Vote Socialist Sutherland Ward 6 Alderman

1958-11Nov99b What's at stake? Sutherland's civic election program

1958-11Nov Vote labor – Vote socialist (Toronto civic elections)

*1958-Nov Program of action – tax the wealthy

1958-11Nov Toronto unionists debate elections (motion to endorse)

1958-11Nov *Vanguard* drive rolling forward

1958-12Dec9 Letter to Bruce: re breakup with Bunny and move to Toronto

1958-12Dec28 Letter to Bunny - publish Montreal Regroupment periodical

***1958-Dec15** SEL conducted dynamic Toronto election fight

1959

1959-01Jan0a SEL leaflet ‘’What is to be done?’’ Action in defense of

1959-01Jan0b Newfoundland loggers’ strike; Cover IWA News

1959-01Jan15 Vanguard – Jan. 1959 – Cuba, Africa – Fund Drive

*1959-Jan15	Cubans oust hated Batista
*1959-Jan15	Edit. - (new party) Farmer-Labor party in danger
1959-02Feb15	BC Forum on military budget – Euros act on missile sites
*1959-Feb15	Logging bosses, courts, RCMP keep 60-hour work week
*1959-Feb15	Castro denounces interference – Cubans cry for justice
*1959-Feb15	Editorial – War still looms before us (the 'cold war')
1959-03Mar15	*Vanguard* – Police attack Nfld. Loggers' strike
*1959-Mar15	Edit – Support Nfld loggers by 24-hr work stoppage
1959-03Mar15	Union conference on new Labor Party problems
1959-03Mar1-	SEL forum discusses 20-21 congress CPSU (Russia)
*1959-04Apr15	Edit – Free Earl Laing, victim of Nfld union busting!
*1959-Apr15	Edit – Gallup polls 30 for 40 (30% for loaded poll)
*1959-Apr15	Think it over (RD) (Defeat of Nfld. Loggers strike)
1959-04Apr15	BC Forum discusses what to do on Bill 43
1959-04Apr15	Gov't liars and lies exposed on Strontium fallout perils
*1959-May15	Vote CCF and build Farmer-Labor party (RD)
1959-05May15	Cross Canada with Workers' *Vanguard* (tour); Tate case
1959-05May15	Passes tax increase on to homeowners, Blames B. of Ed
*1959-Jun15	Do not fail Earl Laing! Framed striking Nfld. logger
*1959-Jun15	Bomarc shows need for new foreign policy (RD)
*1959-Jun15	Ont. Vote no real test of labor party (RD)
1959-06Jun15	Do not fail Earl Laing! (Nfld striking logger)
1959-06Jun15	Castro resists US protests (on Cuban land reform)

1959-06Jun15	Vanguard's Ontario tour receives warm response
*1959-06Sum	Jefferson, Lincoln and Dewey (Warde/Novack)
*1959-July15	British labor allies against H Bomb, unilateral dump
*1959-July15	Edit – Why was Laing (Nfld logger) charged?
1959-07July15	Vanguard mobile campaign takes the pulse of Sudbury
1959-07July15	Rubinstein addresses rallies, support for Sobell growing
1959-07July15	Medical profession threatens boycott of Health Plan
1959-08Aug15	**N**fld. Labor party challenges Gov't & Smallwood
1959-08Aug15	How and how not to combat BC's Bill 43
1959-08Aug15	Sask. CCF defeats top brass – opposes nuclear arms
*1959-08Aug15	(Vanguard) Campaigners meet Duplessis' henchmen
1959-09Sept15	Soviet Sputnik lands on the moon
*1959-Sept15	Diefenbaker backs US in Laos, another Korea?(RD)
*1959-Sept15-	(Soviet Russian leader) Khrushchev visits USA
*1959-Sept15-	Rally spurs labor party (CCF becomes New Party)
1959-09Sept15	*Vanguard* boosters invade Western Ont.
1959-09Sept15	*Vanguard* drive - Vancouver reports successful forum
1959-10Oct15	Dief urges (nuclear war) shelters
1959-10Oct15	Ont. CCF acclaims New Party - BCFL endorses CCF
1959-10Oct15	Celebrate new HQ – We have moved – Labor Bookstore
1959-11Nov15	Trade unions getting behind new labor party
1959-11Nov*15	Unions rally – Sask union adopts peace plan
1959-Nov15-	Where is Soviet Union going 42 years later (on file)

1959-11Nov	Karl Marx—Theory as a guide to action (Pt.1)
1959-12Dec99	Handwritten letter to Jerry (H., Vancouver) re his ‘’crimes’’
1959-12Dec15	*Vanguard* – Dec.1958 – Bosses' drive to smash unions
1959-12Dec15	Anti H-Bomb petition sparks chain reaction
1959-12Dec15	Interest rising on university campuses (U of T.)
1959-12Dec15	Manitoba, BC, Ontario debate New Party problems
1959-12Dec	Marx--Relationship between theory & action (Pt.2)

FOR CCF GOVERNMENTS IN THE PROVINCES AND IN OTTAWA

The Workers Vanguard

Vol. 3, No. 2 (26) January, 1958 23 Toronto—Price 5 cents

Dutch Quit Indonesia Vast Holdings Seized

By P. MILFORD

The Indonesian government is attempting to force the Dutch into negotiations over West Irian by seizing Dutch investments on these rich islands. The Dutch have a stranglehold on the economy through ownership of banks, shipping concerns airlines, trading companies, oil holdings, shuttle railways, and coffee, cocoa, copral, sesal and rubber plantations. All non-working Dutch nationals have been ordered out of the country by the Sukarno government. Workers hoisted the red flag over the offices of Borsumij, one of the largest Dutch firms in Indonesia.

The Dutch have refused to discuss the matter of West New Guinea (West Irian). Dutch imperialism kept the island after conceding Indonesian independence in 1949. They have continued to extract huge profits from the labor of the Indonesian working people. Dutch investments have been cut in half from 2 to 1 billion dollars since independence, but according to Vrije Volke, a Social Democratic newspaper in Holland, Dutch enterprises, beginning in 1951, were pumping profits to Holland in equal volume with the most profitable years since World War I.

With the start given by the government the workers boldly moved out and began taking over Dutch business themselves. However, the self-action of the workers was too much for the government and Abdula Nasutoin, army chief of staff, has placed all Dutch business under army control. He also ordered the workers to stop seizing more Dutch firms.

In practice, army control means little change in the management of the Dutch holdings. "In most cases," writes Walter Briggs from Jakarta in the Dec. 16 NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE, "Dutch enterprises have continued to operate with Dutchmen in control, and an Indonesian corporal stays posted outside as a symbol of the Army's protection and the nation's authority."

In the case of the Dutch owned plantations (75 per cent of the total), Indonesian Agriculture Minister Dr. Swardjo told reporters on Dec. 10 that the government was taking them over in order to stop "other people" from doing so. Tillman Durdin writing from Jakarta in the Dec. 10 New York Times reports that "Dutch estate sources here said tonight they were glad the government had acted to prevent worker seizures."

The capitalist press has tried to make out the Communist party as the force behind the seizures. But the Communist party leadership is opposing workers' seizures and workers' control. "For the most part the Indonesian workers who began taking over Dutch enterprises two weeks ago were not affiliated with the Communist Party wrote Tillman Durdin in the Dec. 16 New York Times. Most of the worker groups were affiliated with the nationalist party and the union that took over the Dutch KPM shipping company headquarters had the reputation of being an anti-Communist union.

"Communist-line members of the National Advisory Council (top advisory body to Indonesian President Sukarno, with great power) are known to have actually spoken against the worker take-overs and called such moves ill-disciplined 'anarcho-syndicalism'. The Communists advocated an orderly program of government take-overs such as the system that now has been put into effect."

These inspiring events in Indonesia are not isolated events. The whole colonial world is exploding. The chains of colonial slavery and exploitation are being blown apart. This huge mass of humanity, the long-silent people, the long-passive people, is starting to speak and to act. In the Cairo Conference the colonial people spoke to the world. The resolution on imperialism which was passed at the conference, condemned foreign interference in the affairs of other countries, military and political pacts and alliances, military aid, treaties encroaching on the sovereignty of nations, imperialism, imperialist exploitation, conditional economic aid and the establishment of foreign military bases and forces in territories of other countries. The colonial people are moving irresistibly in the direction of taking their future in their own hands.

Diefenbaker Says . . .

Windsor Jobless Unite Cut Work Week - UAW

Windsor saw its first unemployed demonstration since the Thirties when 400 of the city's 14,000 unemployed marched past downtown Christmas shoppers. The marchers had come from a meeting in the City Market Building called by the Windsor Labor Council (CLC) and the Windsor Unemployed Association and addressed by UAW Director Burt.

Burt urged the unemployed to organize. Recalling the organizing days at Ford he stated that "When we filled this whole place, when they found that we really had the workers behind us we started to get concessions." He pointed to the government's recent instructions to Central Housing and Mortgage Corporation not to evict Windsor workers for non-payment as a result of the pressure of the UAW and the unemployed.

As of December 16th, 9,279 or 43 per cent of Windsor autoworkers were unemployed.

Local 200's President Victor White, in his January 10th column in FORD FACTS on the tasks before this month's UAW rally in Detroit, writes: "The need for a shorter working week becomes more imperative daily . . . we are not going to sit and wait . . . but will face management across the bargaining table to make the shorter work week possible."

NATO PACT TREMBLES PEOPLE WANT PEACE

By P. KENT

British Tory Prime Minister MacMillan's suggestion of an East-West non-aggression pact, the opposition of heads of governments in the NATO military alliance to the US State Department's out-of-hand dismissal of the Soviet proposals of negotiations to lessen military tensions testify to the tremendous anti-war feelings that have arisen across the globe since sputnik announced the age of missile warfare. Even Canada's Foreign Minister Sidney Smith joined in with an ever-so-cautious, naming-no-names, comment in the house that Canada's attitude was "not identical with other NATO countries where you find a complete denial as soon as any proposal is put forward." While he made it apparent that the government doesn't say yes, he said that it does not hold the view that "we should always say no or nyet to Rusian proposals of negotiation."

The knowledge that there is no way of intercepting rockets armed with atomic warheads and that through their governments they are aligned to NATO, a military pact aimed against the nation which is most advanced in this field, horrifies the peoples of the world, particularly the peoples of Europe. It has emboldened opposition parties and forced all the government heads who heretofore abjectly went along with the strategists of massive retaliation and brinkmanship to call for a change in pace. This was first clearly revealed at last month's conference of NATO heads of government.

Eisenhower and Dulles went to Paris to strengthen the US military bases that completely encircle the USSR by getting agreement to their rearmament with intermediate range ballistic missiles. The two Scandinavian NATO governments, Norway and Denmark, said NO. West Germany also turned thumbs down. The US had to be content with a statement that deployment of the weapons is still dependent upon "the agreement of the states concerned."

Canada, in the person of Prime Minister Diefenbaker, attended to pull Article 2 of the pact out of wraps in the form of a proposition that a food bank be set up. Article 2, an economic aid clause designed at the time of the shaping up of the alliance to mask its military character, has been embarrassingly inoperative. But he was compelled to admit in his report to the commons that there was nothing in the Paris communique on this.

Whereas a week previous to the Paris conference Dulles had dismissed Soviet disarmament proposals as "propaganda," a major part of the conference time was taken up with a discussion to which the representatives of American imperialism were compelled to agree—to open up in the near future discussions with the Soviet Union.

Britain alone of the NATO powers has agreed to the installation of missile bases. But the US is still far from getting them. A public poll conducted by the Lon

See page 4—NATO PACT

IRVINE URGES CCF BREAK FROM NATO

"The CCF should lead the opposition to the policies of Dulles just as it leads the opposition in parliament on domestic issues. The CCF supported NATO, chiefly because of the economic policies which it insisted on incorporating into the agreement, but which have been honored mainly by burying them in the military interpretation. The CCF should withdraw its support from NATO unless it is agreed that we leave no stone unturned to seek settlements through means other than war and negotiations based on the threat of war or else . . .

"We should demand the outlawing of the hydrogen and atom bombs, seek disarmament, demand that all troops, both of NATO and of the USSR be removed from Europe; that Germany should be united on a basis of neutrality; that both America and Russia keep out of the Middle East and that neither side ship arms thereto."

William Irvine, CCF national committee member, one of the founders of the CCF, sometime Alberta provincial leader and organizer, in the December 25th SASKATCHEWAN COMMONWEALTH.

TASKS AHEAD FOR ORGANIZED LABOR 1958

By PAUL MACPHERSON

What lies ahead for Canadian labor in 1958? Many unionists will be seriously considering this question now as the New Year begins. Back in 1957 we saw the beginnings of many serious problems that are going to continue over into 1958. Rising unemployment, threatening anti-labor legislation and determined union smashing drives by the bosses such as took place at Murdochville and at Levers in Toronto.

Unionists will also see, if they stop to examine the role of labor's top brass, a record of failure in meeting the real needs of the labor movement.

Looking back into 1957 we see how the official leadership of the Steelworkers mislead the Murdochville strike right from the very first stages. They pushed the Noranda workers into signing a separate agreement without winning their demand of union recognition for the Murdochville workers. Subsequent developments saw both the Steel and CLC leadership beaten by the team of J. Y. Murdoch and Premier Duplessis, despite the heroic fight of the miners.

Similarly in Toronto at Lever Bros. the official union leadership from Claude Jodoin down refused to organize what it soon became apparent was the only thing that was going to win this embattled strike—a mass picket line.

These strikes, as do others, demonstrate two things. One is the increasing determination of the bosses to smash or at least severely cripple the unions. The other is the helplessness of the labor-management, one big happy family type of leadership, to meet the bosses' attacks.

Referring to the Murdochville strike, Wm. Mahoney, Canadian director of the Steelworkers, deplored the "class consciousness" of the Canadian Manufacturers Association in not disciplining or at least reprimanding J. Y. Murdoch for his actions in the Gaspe. If such violent policies are used against unions by the government and the employers the day will come, Mahoney warned, when workers will say "We need a fighting kind of leadership."

Mr. Mahoney thus tells the bosses what they can expect without "responsible" fellows like himself to depend upon. Increasingly

See page 4—THE TASKS

The Workers Vanguard #26 - Jan. 1958

Readers' Forum

This forum is open to the opinions of readers of Workers Vanguard. Letters are welcome on any subject of interest to workers. Keep them short, include your address. Indicate if you do not want your name printed.

Protests Slander

Editor:

Congratulations on your excellent December issue. As a member of the CCF from its early days I carried the banner in three municipal election campaigns in Toronto and York Township with very little help from the party. Long ago I became aware of where the CCF was going under its right-wing, middle-class leadership.

It was no surprise to me to read in the **Vanguard** the vicious letter which Ken Bryden, notorious red-baiter, conceited rightist and provincial secretary of the Ontario CCF, sent out to the CCF membership in Hastings-Frontenac. Openly contemptuous of the workers he exemplifies the type of "leader" the CCF follows nowadays. Red-baiting and the witch hunt have replaced the Regina Manifesto. Both letters of Messrs. Bryden and Coldwell circulated throughout the riding were a clear-cut invitation to the voters of Hastings-Frontenac to vote Conservative. Better Mr. Sidney Smith with his Big Business connections than Mr. Ross Dowson and socialism!

The charge that Mr. Dowson has "secret" views is utterly ridiculous. I have never been, and am not now, a member of any party except the CCF, which I left two years ago because it is no more than another type of Liberal party. Although not a member of his group I do know something of Ross Dowson and the Socialist Educational League. No matter what shortcomings Mr. Dowson may have, hiding his political light under a bushel is not one of them. He has never denied being a Marxist or that he recognizes the class struggle. The whole program of the SEL is openly proclaimed in the **Vanguard** and at its public forums. I have made a careful study of Mr. Dowson's election campaigns both in the municipal and the federal fields and I fail to see where he has hidden in any respect the views that I have heard him expound in print and speech for a number of years.

Space does not permit comment on the stupid charges against Dowson and other Marxists that they "wormed" their way into the CCF for the purpose of disrupting and destroying the party. Why should they do that when the CCF and the trade union bureaucrats now running its affairs are doing a much more efficient job of destroying everything the CCF once stood for?

I have had a number of differences with Mr. Dowson and the SEL and expect to have a lot more as events unfold. But I have always had the fullest opportunity to put forth my position whenever I met with them. The basis of their decisions is "democratic centralism" which allows full expression to a minority. In my later years in the CCF I found that the basis of decisions had become the speeches of Mr. Coldwell in the house of commons. Discussions of any serious political questions have become fewer and fewer so that Mr. Coldwell can feel quite free to ignore the decisions of the CCF conventions. This he did when he spoke in favor of, and voted for German rearmament when a CCF convention had voted against it.

The CCF of today, with its class collaborationist and reformist policies masquerading as a program, is a poor substitute for the vital, surging, socialist party that once I knew. It becomes more difficult to advocate support of the CCF in my trade union as each new betrayal of socialist principles is revealed. I persist, though, in the hope that the workers under the whiplash of unemployment and decline of their living standards will flood into the CCF in such numbers as to unseat the present leadership. My hope is that a transfusion of working class blood will revitalize the CCF and transform it into a genuine Farmer-Labor Party which will not "rest content until it has eradicated capitalism and put into operation the full program of socialized planning which will lead to the establishment in Canada of the Co-operative Commonwealth," in the concluding words of the Regina Manifesto.

Douglas Carr, Toronto.

The Workers Vanguard #26 - Jan 1958

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The Workers Vanguard #26 Jan 1958

Mexican Painter Diego Rivera
Artist of Man in the Machine Age

Death came last month in Mexico City to the painter which the future will declare to have been the greatest of our epoch, possibly with Michelangelo one of the greatest painters of all epochs. It was around his name, the name Diego Rivera, and around his works that the greatest art controversies of the twenties and thirties raged.

While Rivera's art, like all truly great art, expresses the aesthetic needs of timeless humanity, it is above all a panoramic expression of our times—the time of the machine and automation, the time of the conscious entry of the masses into the arena of history, the time of the socialist revolution.

Art, even in the pyro-techniques of Picasso and the ingenious harmonies and forms of Matisse, has reached an impasse—mirroring the blind alley into which capitalism in its death agony has led society. To find a way out, a whole series of schools have sprung up and withered on the vine—schools that have got lost in plastic methods and involved aesthetic theories—schools where the artist himself, the darkest and as yet most inscrutable recesses of his mind, has become the subject of his work.

But Rivera, heading up a great Mexican cultural renaissance, broke through the impasse. He broke through by taking as his subject the great process which is itself destined to liberate all human activities—the socialist revolution. This Mexican, steeped in the culture of his peoples and the artistic inheritance of all peoples, took as his theme not only man's struggle to conquer the elements but to conquer the productive forces and the class antagonisms formed by these forces. His art, a synthesis of the highest traditions of his craft and the most highly developed social theory, Marxism, found as its medium of expression the fresco—the mural integrated in the structure of public buildings, not with the object of ornamenting "but extending in time and space the life of the architecture."

Through the fresco Rivera reunited painting with the other arts and sciences to produce a social art expression. As Orozco put it "a disinterested form, for it cannot be made a matter of private gain, it cannot be hidden away for the benefit of a certain privileged few. It is for the people. It is for all."

Rivera's art was above all a product of the Russian Revolution. But the medium for its expression and the free cultural atmosphere necessary for all great art was opened up, not by the Stalin bureaucracy which grew on the workers' republic, but by the Mexican Revolution. Commencing in 1930, for six years he labored on the walls of the National Palace in Mexico City on the epic of his people, presenting not only the heroes and the villains but the nameless mass through whose blind movements history had been made. The efforts of Courbet, of David, of Van Gogh, Millet, Kollwitz, to develop a meaningful art culminate in their wedding with Marxism in this fresco—a masterpiece not only of ideas but design, organization, the control of spatial relations and color.

With the spread of his fame Rivera was invited to the United States. He leaped at the opportunity as he desired to speak to an industrial working class then in the ferment and process of the third American revolution, the rise of the CIO, in terms of their revolutionary tradition and in the terms of steel bridges, skyscrapers and production lines. Across the river from Windsor, in the Detroit Institute of Arts, Rivera labored for a year (1932-33) on 27 panels—a hymn to the machine, to labor, to working men and women. The murals roused the hatred of respectable society, of churchmen, businessmen, the daily press which campaigned unsuccessfully for their removal.

The controversy over the Detroit frescos was only a warning of the storm which was to burst over the New York Radio City frescos and end in their destruction by the Rockefellers. For weeks Rivera was plagued with hints and urgings from various Rockefeller emissaries to tone down color, subject matter, "realism" etc. But the pretext for their destruction was the artist's refusal to remove from his inspired concept of Man at the Crossroads, the figure of Lenin.

Ignoring the rights of the artist and the rights of society to this work, but firm in capitalist property rights, for they paid in full as per contract, the Rockefellers smashed the fresco. With the money Rivera painted 21 movable panels boldly outlining the history of the class struggle in America as a gift to the workers of America. Rivera considered these panels "the best I have painted, the best constructed, the most correct in historical dialectic, the richest in materialistic synthesis and moreover, informed with the greatest enthusiasm and love that I am capable of feeling." These panels are now in the ILGW's New York State camp.

For Rivera, the socialist revolution was not only a theme—his identification with it was complete. He joined and played a leading role in the Mexican Communist Party from 1922 until he was expelled in 1929, shortly after which he solidarized himself with the fight led by Leon Trotsky. In his greatest creative period he was a member of the Fourth International. In 1939 his temperament and impulsive mind caused him to participate as political secretary in the creation of a new party for the purpose of supporting a candidate for the Mexican presidency which led to a rupture in his relation with the Fourth International.

With the ebb of the Mexican revolution and with the reaction that developed as the preparations for the Second Imperialist World War got underway, Rivera's great creative energies were blocked — there were no walls open for him to paint on. Late in 1952 he applied for re-admission to the CP confessing past sins and condemning his own Man at the Crossroads fresco, which following its destruction by the Rockefellers, he reproduced in Mexico as corresponding to "the weakest period in the plastic quality of my painting." Following the death of his wife, Frida Kahlo in 1954, as the death knell of Stalinism commenced to sound, he was re-admitted to the Stalinist Mexican CP.

But neither Rockefeller money nor Rivera's own repudiation can cancel out his awesome artistic achievements. His paintings on the walls of Mexican and US public buildings speak for themselves. They are a landmark, a mighty jumping off point for the new generation of artists searching a way out of the impasse, seeking to identify themselves and their works with human progress.

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Feb 27, 1958
569 Yonge Street
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Henri Gagnon;

Dear Comrade Gagnon;

We picked up this mornings Globe and Mail to read that you were running "to rally the depleted forces of the Labor Progressive Party." The article was only 7 lines long and with its lead LPP MEN IN QUEBEC suggested that you were a candidate of the LPP. But looking through the latest Tribune I found you were not even mentioned. I checked up on the Canadian Press to find that you are contesting the election along with comrade Rouleau as canadidates of the Peoples Socialist Party. I have challenged the Globe and Mail to correct their misleading report by reporting in full the CP dispatch which I think they will do. I am sure that socialists not only in Toronto but across the country will want to hear the truth about your campaign.

As editor of the Vanguard I would like to receive a full report on the campaign, what your program is ,your perspective etc. We are going to press within the next three of four days so I would appreciate it if you would bundle up anything you have related to the campaign and send it along. I would be pleased to work this material up into an article. Better still we would like you to write it up into article form. We would be pleased to carry an article by you either under your by-line or if you would prefer in an interview form.

This is indeed stimulating news. All the left here is anxious to hear all about the Peoples Socialist Party. We would be pleased to make every effort to make your views available to memebers and sympathizers in the Toronto area and for that matter acorssa Canada--we have a fair contact with LPPers and ex-LPPers right across the country.

Anticipating your immediate reply

with socialist greetings

Ross Dowson

JOBS FOR ALL! PEACE! VOTE FOR SOCIALISM

Interview with Dowson Broadview SEL Candidate

By SUSAN LANG

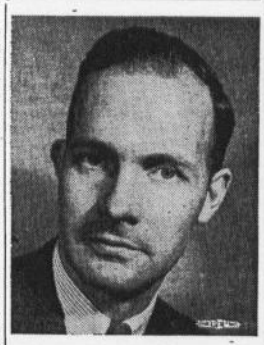
I met Mr. Dowson in the Socialist Educational League's committee room amidst the hustle and bustle of campaigners, enthusiastic, mostly youthful, going out with leaflets, coming in with information and experiences from door-to-door canvassing of the electors in Broadview. Mr. Dowson, a slim man in a neat brown suit, in his late thirties or early forties, asked me to come with him into another room so that we could hold the interview that I told him I would like. I have pared the report of this interview down to the bare questions I asked and the answers he gave, due to their number and the shortage of space.

Mr. Dowson, what do you think are the issues of this election?

"There are two main issues—Unemployment — Jobs for All and Peace—end the threat of an H Bomb war—establish the basis for a lasting peace." Mr. Dowson handed me a leaflet which, in a large box under a heading JOBS FOR ALL, outlined a series of proposals to meet unemployment. Among the demands was the redirection of the millions now being spent on instruments of death and destruction to jobs that would supply the social needs of the Canadian people.

"It takes a lot of hyprocrisy," Mr. Dowson said emphatically, "to talk about freedom and democracy to the 800,000, now perhaps a million Canadians without work. Without the right to work there are few real rights since most have dollar signs wrapped around them. There is little real democracy in a society where man has no control of the means whereby he lives.

"Of course all the parties are campaigning for Jobs For All. Mr. Deifenbaker's program of public works has proved to be a fraud and deception. The Tories, with all their fanfare about visions of a greater Canada are blaming the Liberals for the unemployment. They are banking on a turn in the economic situation to at least take off some of the pressure and they are even hopefully telling us that the recession is over. Canadians need jobs, all 800,000 of them or more. Even the most extravagant promise, made by Transport Minister Hees, mentions employment for only 250,000. Public works projects won't put the economy in good health and in this day of machines won't provide many jobs, unless we resort to the humiliating experiences of the Thirties—moving mountains with shovels and wheelbarrows. Public works didn't do it in the Thirties — only the Second World War did.



Ross Dowson
Broadview Candidate
Socialist Edctl. League

"Nor will the Liberal Party proposal—a version of the New Deal pump priming, an easing off of taxes and the putting of a little more purchasing power in the hands of the people, solve the problem. There are no income tax rebates for people without incomes. Whether this 'recession' will become the 'depression' or not, it is deeply rooted in the system, in the drastic fall in capital investment and the weakening of the world market for important Canadian products."

What do you think of Mr. Coldwell's proposition of a National Investment Board that will "ensure that there is always sufficient investment to maintain full employment," and his proposed "publicly-owned Development Bank through which savings and reserves of Canadian institutions and corporations will be made available for the development of Canada's industries and natural resources."

"Of course you know that the CCF has swung far to the right in the past years. Armed with this election's program the press is, with considerable success, making out that the CCF, despite the support it gets from the unions, is no different in any way from the old line parties. Mr. Coldwell's proposal is an application of the Winnipeg Declaration which the CCF leadership substituted two years ago for the party's foundation Regina Manifesto. The latter called for the nationalization of the basic means of production, the banks, credit institutions, and production for use and not profit.

"Mr. Coldwell's proposition is a

Overleaf—DOWSON

What we got from the LIBERALS . . what we've been getting from the TORIES:

Direct Expenditures On Armed Forces and Supplies	1957	$1,750,000,000
	1956	1,750,000,000
	1955	1,750,000,000
	1954	"
	1953	"
	1952	"
	1951	"

millions upon millions

MILLIONS OF DOLLARS spent on bombers (many outmoded as they come off assembly lines) that with pinpoint accuracy can drop block-busting explosives on cities and towns and on human beings. MILLIONS OF DOLLARS on jet fighters which, with a flick of a finger, can release banks of death-dealing rockets.

MILLIONS to sustain elaborate military establishments across the country.

MILLIONS OF DOLLARS for naval craft, for experimental work on paralyzing gases and other fiendish instruments of destruction and death.

MILLIONS to finance Canadian troops stationed in foreign lands amongst people who do not want them. MILLIONS on civil defence from H Bomb missile warfare from which there is no defence. MILLIONS to subsidize the gold mining interests

And Promises **of all sorts. along with lies and deceptions**

. . . and what the Canadian people need:

HOUSES—200,000 low cost and rental houses —subsidized housing. The income of 70 per cent of the people does not qualify them for NHA loans.

MORE SCHOOL TEACHERS — a minimum 50 per cent increase over present staffs— MORE AND BETTER EQUIPPED SCHOOLS. Not bursaries or loans but FREE UNIVERSITY EDUCATION to all who meet scholastic qualifications—80 per cent of the brightest students now quit school before senior matric.

CANADA NEEDS MORE HOSPITALS, more nurses. Not a hospital plan that props up vested interests in the medical field but science at the service of man, preventive medicine—a national health plan, free medical, surgical, mental and dental attention.

THE WORKING PEOPLE NEED RELIEF FROM THE CRUSHING TAX BURDEN—stop squeezing income tax from wage earners whose income welfare bodies admit is less than what is essential to live on. Remove the sales tax except on luxury items.

OF CANADA'S ESTIMATED 3,974,000 HOUSEHOLDS, according to government figures, 20 per cent do not have a piped household water supply. Some 1,700,000 do not have flush toilets. 28 per cent use coal or wood stoves for cooking, 43 per cent still do not have furnaces for heating purposes. Over 660,000 have no refrigeration of any kind. 19 per cent are without washing machines. Over 1,500,000 have no vacuum cleaner. 6 per cent or nearly 230,000 homes do not have electricity. More than have 993,500 have no telephone.

THEN THERE IS TRADE WITH CHINA.

All this means work, not unemployment insurance, not relief, but work, purposeful jobs to meet human needs.

STRIKEBREAKER, TORY - HEES

By PAUL KANE

When George Hees first sought election from Broadview to the commons, he listed himself as a business man—a manufacturer. He was an owner of a business built up by sweated labor — a venetian blind business notorious for its rotten working conditions and its anti-labor policies.

He brought his businessman's hostility to labor's struggle along with him into government where, last year, he used the authority of his office as minister of transport to herd scabs and break a strike.

As minister of transport the entire operation of the nationally owned CNR, including Canadian National Steamships, comes under his jurisdiction. On Nov. 9 the strike of some 200 members of the Seafarer's International Union, fighting for a 40-hour week and a 20 per cent increase over their miserable 85 cent per hour wage was broken by the transfer of the vessels from Canadian to Trinidadian registry. This permitted the steamship company, with the Hon. George Hees' approval, to refuse to deal with the union. Eight of the CNS ships now ride at anchor, empty and rusting, in Halifax harbor.

On November 15 some 95 seamen being flown in from Jamaica on two government chartered TCA planes to scab on the striking Canadian seamen were suddenly ordered to return to Jamaica. Mr. Hees refused to answer enquiries about his scab-herding with the dodge that they could be made when the annual railway management committee appears before the house. Mr. Hees never saw fit to have this committee sit.

Mr. Hees is a hard-headed, cynical, Tory politician. On May 1, 1954, he had occasion to make known some of his views on practical politics. According to the GLOBE AND MAIL of that date, he considers the "greatest act of sabotage to the (Tory) party is to support for nomination someone who hasn't a chance of being elected." So that no PCer should have illusions that "the best man" should be nominated, he warned; "You have to be tough and cold about it." "The only thing that counts in an election is winning." There is no woolly-headed idealism about George Hees. His formula—"Get the candidate nominated, people recruited, then (and only then—editor) formulate party program."

Mr. Hees certainly doesn't support such democratic proposals as the SEL is advancing in Broadview, that the people should decide by referendum vote the question of war or peace. Far from it. He is for secret diplomacy.

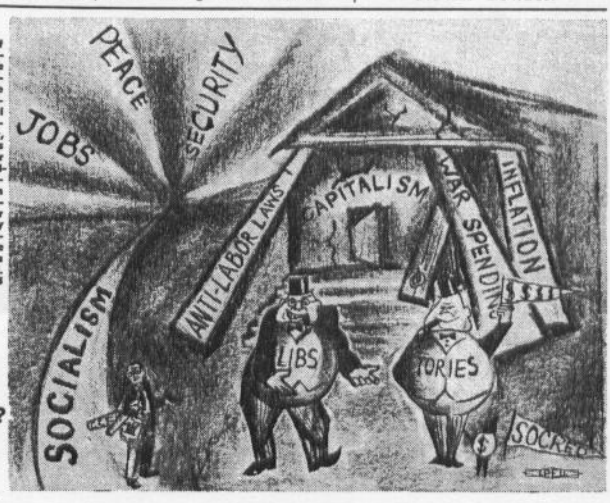
When the US Republicans, back in 1955, attempting to make political capital against the Democrats, published the long suppressed papers on the Yalta Conference, he vigorously protested in the house. These papers revealed that behind the backs of the people, the fates of whole countries and populations were cynically bargained away between the heads of government of the Big Powers. Mr. Hees cried out that the publication of these papers "together with the pressure to have Tehran and Potsdam papers published as well, has made future high level secret diplomacy almost impossible . . ."

In this speech he declared in passing, "We've told the United States we will back her 100 per cent if she gets into a major war."

"The immediate future" of the pulp and paper industry looks "bleak, with the prospect of more curtailment of operations, more difficult marketing problems and more industrial unrest still to come," according to R. M. Fowler, president of the industry's association, and former chairman of the Royal Commission on Broadcasting. "I think it is a return to normality, in an economy of abundance, after 19 years of abnormality caused by war and its aftermath." It is just the "classical dilemma of a capitalistic society," he said.
G and M, Feb. 1, 1958

Capitalist Normality or Socialism?

Which Way?



The Workers
Vanguard
#27-Feb. 1958

Jobless Meet for Action Now

By E. STRONG

Arthur Maloney, parliamentary assistant to Minister of Labor Mark Starr, was subjected to a severe heckling last week at a meeting of 700 unionists and unemployed. The meeting was organized by the Toronto and District Labor Council to discuss the problem of unemployment.

Boos, hisses and catcalls at various times completely drowned out the government spokesman's voice. Maloney raised the ire of the meeting when he completely smoothed over the problem by quoting a bagful of statistics and claiming unemployment isn't as serious as everyone thinks.

Before the meeting was a composite resolution from the labor council. It urged the government to take action and start a number of work projects. While no one could disagree with the proposals, they were far from adequate to meet the situation NOW. The featured speakers of the evening, Steel leader Mahoney, Textile leader Whitehouse, who favored the resolution, in essence called for political action against the Diefenbaker government behind the CCF. With an election on the horizon this is very good. But a program that would mobilize the tremendous forces which the union leadership head up, in a struggle against unemployment now, was not advanced. This program of action was only expressed when the rank and file took over during the discussion period.

G. (Paddy) Stanton Speaking

A member of the Sleeping Car Porters union took the mike to call for a determined struggle for the shorter work week which would protect the jobs of those now working and create employment for those now walking the streets. This demand was backed up by a driver from the Teamsters who urged that the Labor Council organize the jobless into a fighting union. Ed Hughs, a militant from the Machinists' local at AVRO admonished the leadership for their failure to take action on the Lever strike and challenged them to do something now. When he demanded "Organize the unemployed of Toronto every day at 12 noon and march downtown. This will tie up the city and will soon wake the government up!" there was an instantaneous round of applause.

Paddy Stanton, a well known union militant who spoke last, brought the drifting audience to attention with his booming voice. "The system is a system of crisis. We will always have wars and depressions as long as we tolerate this system of private enterprise." He went on "The second world war took us out of the depression of the 30's, and after the end of the war in 1948, came another 'slight' depression and Korea took us out of that; and unless there is a change to a fundamentally new system it will need another war to take us out of this one." He drew a tremendous applause from the audience.

When the chairman called for a motion of adjournment there were another 12 workers standing at the mike waiting to speak. The meeting adjourned under cries from the audience directed at the platform as to when would be the next meeting. These questions were left unanswered.

March 8, 1958
569 Yonge Street
Toronto, Ont.

Henri Gagnon

Dear Henri;

I was very happy to receive your note, Fortin's submission to the LPP NEC, and the invitation to the affair that you are arranging this coming Saturday.

All this is inspiring news and I sincerely hope that we are at last off among the road to regrouping the forces of revolutionary socialism in Canada. I took advantage of the situation to mail you some material that I am sure you will be interested in.

Some of us are going to take advantage of your invitation to this coming Saturday's rally. There will be three or four of us coming down. We are all looking forward to meeting you comrades. Besides I would imagine you could do with a few more faces.

And what do you think of coming up to Toronto for a public meeting? I know that all of you will be busy in the two election campaigns are are carrying but it seems to me that the most important aspect of your campaigns is the possibilities they open up to re-inspiring, re-directing LPP dissidents which appear to be plentiful in the Montreal area but are also quite sizeable here in Toronto. I think it would be a very good thing to arrange a public meeting here. If you left Saturday afternoon of the 22nd and we were able to arrange the meeting for the Sunday afternoon there would be a minimum of time lost from the election campaign. I am also wondering what you think of the idea of approaching Salsberg to see if he would appear on the platform. Think it over and we can discuss the matter when we meet.

And now for some news from here. We have decided to run a candidate in the Toronto area. We had been discussing the matter prior to hearing of your activities down there but that is what cinched ~~kmmmmmmmmx~~ it for us. We have not announced the candidate or the riding. Running here in Toronto means running "against" a CCF candidate. They cover all ridings. In order to meet the prejudices of many workers we are going through the experience of asking the CCF to vacate one seat--one where it will be apparent that barring some totally unforseen development they could not win this election. I suppose you know that deep to all their protestation of unity the LPP is taking on the CCF frontally everywhere it seems to me where they have any forces at all. Here in Toronto they have put Morris into South York--up until the last election the only Ontario seat the CCF ever won in a federal election and one that the union PEC's are concentrating on winning. They are running in a Winnipeg seat already held by the CCF. In our opinion this is a sectarian action. Yesterday I was speaking to a lawyer named Garfinkle--he was the leading figure in the Sobell Committee work in the Toronto area...no longer active in the LPP but still in the UJPO He told me that he truly expects the LPP to enter a candidate against you.

We haven't announced the riding or the candidate as we wish to go through this experience even though we know the outcome. We will probably pick Broadview which is a good working class area in the central area.

We have dumped the regualr issue of Vanguard that we planned and are out two single sheet leaflets which we intend to distribute at interv Will probably ~~xxxxx~~be off the press Wednesday or so--we will bring copi our program down with us. We will probably put out the other odd thing Right now we are busy getting out an appeal for aid to be mailed to erv we know in the Toronto area.

But I am hoping there is time when we get to Montreal to talk about this and many other matters.

By the way--you dont happen to have a one column stereo matrix of your that you could mail us --do you? Looking forward to receiving copies of your campaign literature

comradely greetings

Ross Dowson

March 31, 1958

Dear Henri;

This is the first opportunity that I have had to drop you a line. It is 11 o 'clock and the comrades have gone home after hearing the main results. of the federal elections.

The debacle of the CCF comes at a very favorable juncture--when real possibilities of regroupment of socialist forces are opening up for us. Socialists who have long quite well understood that the CCF is not socialist but have refused to move outside of it because of its apparent strnegth and influence can now be attracted to a broad socialist forum movement, I think. I had a lengthy discussion with Salsberg shortly after reutning to Toronto---the most satisfactory yet. He, Sims, Binder, Penner, Lipshitz and a few others gather together to talk things over every once and a while I gather. And from what Salsberg says he is t e person most prone to move out--he and even more so Charlie Sims. I had a long talk with Binder o ver the phone last week and I can only conclude that he is going to be sitting on the side lines for a considerable period. But I gather he is now down in Montreal , will be seeing you and you may have some influence on him. My impression is that Salsberg is not so concerned about gathering together the socialist forces as he is some bread all inclusive progres ive movement.

At anyraje I will be writing you further about these matters. Here is the proposition that I put to him. Thinking the matter over, and since you were unable to come here before the elections I thought that the most practical proposition was that we atte: pt to hold a united May Day celebration. It would seem to me the perfect event dedicated as it is to the presentation of a united labor and socialist front against capitalism I placed this proposal before him and he seemd inclined to consider it favorably. He tol me that he would take it up with Lipshitz, Binder and others to get their opinion. My proposal would be to issue a call to all interested, wide open platform. Your presence would be very valuable. Tomorrow night I am going to take the matter up with him again ~~madmixn~~ to find their opinion and to move forward with the proposition

Now there are two things that I would appreciate hearing from you just as soon as possible,

1) The Vanguard would like an article from you on your and Rouleau's election campaign. I appreciate it that you will want to place your campaigns within the framework on the national picture but we would like such an article to deal specifically with your two campaigns and the Quebec scene. We have already arranged for a national analysis and for a covering od the Broadview campaign. We would be plased to receive such an article from you and hope if you are agreeable that you can mail it from Montreal bt by the evening of April 6. ..tell us if you would like it published under a pseudonym or your own name.

2) How are the comrades coming alo g with the transcription of the speeches at the rally? Can we expect to have a typewritten copy of the main contr butions within the next few days. If not would it be possible for you to send the tapes along. We have a recorder. We would like to give a detailed report of the major contributions in the April issue of the Vanguard. And as above the deadline is April 6 from Montreal.

Havent heard any returns from Senneterre or St Jacques, nor have I had the opportunity to read your leaflet that you were so good as to send copies of. Will comme first opportunity I have. Hope you found our two leaflets a worthwhile contribution We distributed 48,000 all told

(ends)

April 1, 1958

Charles Kinghorn
4820 Roslyn Ave
Montreal, Que.

Dear Comrade Charlie;

A good term don't you think. After all they even use it in the Canadian Legion and it does express the relationship that we would truly desire between socialists. But to get to the business at hand. I

I must thank you for your cotribution to the paper and its meeting the deadline so promptly. And then only to be squeezed out along with a lot of other material. At the last moment we ~~xxxxxx~~ decided to use the interview device with the candidate to take up a lot of matters that had come up in the campaign during the use of the first leaflet which I gave you when we met . This interview technigue, while it alàowed us to take up many matters nonetheless still took up a lot of ãpace. Ut squeezed not only your contribution out but another showing the easy transformation from capitalist to Liberal and from Liberal back to capitalists again...another on the youth group here which we are very much interested in but have not yet been able to deal with...another simple article on what socialists really will look like, etc etc if that is any consolation. You see we have lots oand lots of ideas but not space.

However we certainly are going to get it into this coming issue. I think that it is still very useful regardless of the time lapse. Of course the big coverage of this issue will be the election. Normally I would like you to send something in one the elections in Quebec but I have just sent off in the mail a short note to Henri Gagnon asking if he would make a contribution on his and Jacques Rouleaus campaign. I am sure you will agree that it would be a real contribution to the next issue if comrade Henri will deliver. Then too we intend if we get the material in time to report in some detail the contents of the major speeches made at the rally we both attended.

We could under normal circumstances use an article each month from Montreal--not of course just on student issues but on impòrtant developments in Quebec. The best procedure would be seems to me for you when you see something taking place that you think would interest Vanguard readers to drop me a line with a few of your ideas--then I could write you back exchange a few ideas and we could go ahead if we thought it worthwhile. I know that there is nothing more frustrating than to spend hours of an article and then have an editor toss it aside. Belive me I have had that unpleasant experience. But of course we are not literary prima donnas but socialists trying to put out a press of use to the working peoples in their struggles.

Did you keep a carbon of the last article. I think that it is a good idea--I could then refer to items in it with convenience should we wish to talk over changes. A few words about your first contribution. Of course to take t is matter up really seriously and I gather you do we should get together--either you come here for a few days or I try to scrape some time and go there. I think that your style is generally very good. Now I am not holding up the Vanguard style as tops but I would suggest that you might find it valuable to go over some back issues with style in mind. While I have not followed the student strike as closely as you have it would seem to me to have been a good idea to have said a few words about the sitdown being carried o on by some of the students in front of Duplessis' office.

I think too that your ending editorial comments are somewhat undercutting the importance of the strike. After all the strike was quite an inspiring action--- I know that the students in Hungary and Venezuala are going much further but I do not recall ever hearing of any action of a like character since the Montreal students took to the streets protesting the streetcar price hike. That many students more or less looked upon the action as a lark should not I think cause us to underate the importance of the strike. I do not think anyone looked upon the strike as a solution to the question, as anything more than a protest. In this sense it was a terrific success right down the line. I never had the concept that the public were indifferent. This would be a hard thing to gauge at anyrate--and I doubt that the event is forgotten in the minds of wide layers of the students. As I say I think that the last paragraphe of editorial evaluation tends to underesti ate the significance of the whole event

Not very satisfactory--this commenting by mail is it. But with your permission I would like to change the last paragraph or better still if you have a carbon of the rest of the article perhaps you could spare a little time to re-think this matter over in the light of my comments and make what changes you think necessary. It is of course much more satisfactory if our writers agree with the editor rahter than the editor use his blue pencil

I would like to hear from you about the above by the 8th of April. At the saem time tell me if it is possible for you to come into Toronto in the next while. We can put you up without difficulty. Aren you in touch with Gagnon and the Council of Socialist Clubs since the rally? I am sure that it would be an inspriation to the council if some of you students really moved in behind this most promising development.

It would seem to me that the opportunity to spread it right across the country is opening up with the debacle suffered by the CCF. This election is really going to loosen up the political situation in ~~Canada~~ Canada. I would think that many socialists who have slippped into apapthy with the whole rightward course of the CCF over the past period, who did not want to move out for fear of jeopardizing ~~what~~ what shaky structure there was will be ready to move around a new rallying center. I would like very much to give some of my ideas on the election in this respect but I have had to letter many matters slip over the past few weeks of campaigning. You know we distributed over 48,000 leaflets--did fairly extensive canvassing--- this was by far the deepest campaign the Socialist Educational League has ever conducted. But I will see you in the next issue of the Vanguard which now must get underway.

warmest regards

Ross Dowson

569 Yonge Street
Toronto, Ont.
April 8, 1958

Milton Acorn
2031 Sanguinet Street
Montreal, P.Q.

Thanks very much for your long and interesting letter. Unfortunately I am unable to take it up at this time. We are just coming out of our election campaign, many matters accumulated in that time, we have to get the Vanguard out etc etc.

While in no way attempting to evade these questions I have called upon reinfordements or temporary substitutes if you will. Under seaparate cover I am sending along;

1) a copy of the Militant with a lengthy article dealing with the exploitative character that the Soviet bureaucracy had with Hungary--the economic basis of the revolution.

2) a copy of the Militant containing an article by Peter Fryer on the UN report on the Hungarian uprising. Fyer as you probably know was the Br Daily Worker correspondent in Hungary whose reports were suppressed by the editors. He subsequently published them in a booklet entitled The Hungarian Tragedy which we have here in stock for $1.25

3) a copy of the Vanguard containing a short answer by Fryer to the Aptheker book which carries the Khrushchev-Kadar line on the Hungarian uprising.

4) a second writing by Fryer dealing with his expulsion and arguments launched against his position on Hungary by the Br CP leadership

5) a slim pamphlet by Davidson, which is not Marxist but after all he was there on the spot as was Fryer

I have sent them along on the guarantee that you will return them within a week or so. Unfortunately I do not have duplicate copies of any of this material--they come from our files and of course I must have it back

Good to hear that the forum is being carried forward on May 9th. The subject is a good one. James P Cannon who in my opinion is one of the most competent Marxists on this continent deals with this specific question in a recent issue of the International Socialist Review. As a matter of fact the last three issues which sell at .35 a peice will be of interest. The last one has a lengthy article analyzing the various views on the proposed roads to Soviet Democracy. The one before on the war threat and peaceful co-existence

Possibly I will be able to get to Montreal on the 9th to meet you. At anyrate I will take up your letter first opportunity.

fraternally

You can use these if you want to.

CHUM(P)

(To A.D., a full-time LPP'er who called me 'brother' and praised my verse.)

Here's a tip on your future:
My rhymes are manure;
often as hard to produce
but a bit less use
if they weren't the abrasive truth
and me an un-evasive man.
If you doubt this you can
squeeze my knuckles til the marrow oozes,
and, if it serves your uses,
grin so the red gaps show
where your wisdom teeth might grow.

I've a list of words for 'liar'
and the second starts with 'R'.

Milton Acorn 1958

.....

But wrath and inconvenient beards
belong to the Pharisees,
by fierce right our feared
revolutionaries
with Law and ordained task for
everyone and The Master.

" Messiah!" their wet mouths shrill,
meaning their own precise will.
He rode his burro thru sunshowers,
workingmen singing shouts,
and widdflowers,
but the Pharisee backs and long-lettered
scrolls
were some shut place else.
By capital, dot and comma,
they knew he was false.

(MA) from the long poem
MARY MAGDALENE

April 20, 1958

Henri Shagnon
Montréal

Dear Comrade Henri;

Thanks very much for the full record of the speeches made at the March regroupment rally. One gets a much better insight into the different views from the written word. Of course everyone went far afield—the next one with its specific topic will be of even more value.

I think that the choice of topic is excellent and that the line of argument leading to the decision correct. The question of socialism and democracy is certainly one of the pivotal questions in the whole regroupment process. This was brought home to me again when a week or so ago I attended a UJPO meeting addressed by Leo Huberman. It is hard to get a clear statement of position from types like Huberman however he presented the argument that India was going to socialism via the democratic way-China the way of considerable curtialiment of civil rights—and in this contest he was compelled to admit that China was winning. A fallacious statement of the case-and as I expressed in a question the best possible rationalisation for Stalinism and the curtailment of workers democracy—it works after all doesn' it. There are a few important facts that are overlooked here. In China they hate had a revolution the old feudal land tenure has been broken up and a ~~metamorphosis~~ realisable state plan has been brought into operation—this is the real strength of China and the curtailment of democracy a n inhibiting factor in its full development. On the other hand India has not had its revolution—it has the trappings of democracy but none of its essence. But to get on with this better.

I have a specific proposition with regards to the coming forum that I would like you to take up with the committee. I would like you to consider the adviseability of asking each person who will be addressing the coming forum to prepare his contribution in written form. I would like to propose that we publish these contributions in pamphlet form. Four or five ten minute addresses, not extemporaneous but considered contributions of this most important topic would make a nice compact pamphlet which could be published at a relatively small outlay. I believe that I mentioned to you that some SELers are planning to make a cross-Canada tour. This tour could place the pamphlet in many hands across the country and could play an important part in stimulating the process of regroupment. It is probable that the Montreal forum will have to modify its activites with the coming of summer and a pamphlet and its circulation c uld help us to sustain interest and develop it even for the next Fall's activities.

If you think this a good proposal it might cause you to make some slight adjustments as to the contributors. In the forum itself we I think are interested in ideas no matter their source. But in the consideration of publishing a pamphlet you might consider the importance of having submissions from persons who are to some degree known on the Canadian scene—this would be a big help in its circulation. You might consider the adviseability of contacting Salsberg right away-I do not think that he will agree to submit anything on the basis of my recent discussions with him however it is not exactly excluded either

If you are agreeable to this proposition I will assume the responsibility of raising the necessary funds to launch the project and will take on all the technical aspects of publication under your advisement. Should there be any profits realised and I think this is highly possible we can built up a fund for further publication efforts.

In a few days, Hemmi, a friend and comrade of mine Bruce Batten will be dropping in to see you. He has recently moved down to Montreal. He can be of great aid in the work of the Forum...and so can his wife who will be joining him in a few months. While quite young both are well developed socialists. They are good speakers, they can both write and they will be of considerable aid in the technical and mechanical work of building up the forums. Bruce's co-option to the forum continuations committee would braoden it and make it more effective.

Yes, we here in Toronto would be pleased to take on the responsibility for the publication of the English edition of the Review. Send us the detailed instructions and we would be pleased to do the job

A few words on the Toronto situation which will be of interest to you personally. Salsberg, Smith, Lipshits and a few others finally got together and I finally a few days ago managed to contact Joe to find out their opinions on a couple of proposals I made to them. I had proposed that we start the ball rolling here by holding a meeting and that they might consider a united May Day meeting as a an immediate and practical action. Salsberg does not feel that such a meeting would be very broad, that it would attract any great number of people. I of course have no real idea of their attractive powers--and they appear to have no confidence in them. I proposed that we publish a pamphlet on some topic of interest to those who are seriously considering the possibilities of regroupment---they again do not see much interest in such an idea--they think that it would not reflect much diversity of opinion other than the SEL and their own opinion--although it is not at all clear to me that they have a common political view. It seems anyway that they are still contemplating the publication of a periodical--and in some way they see a pamphlet as in some way conflicting with this project. Sims was not at this meeting. Since I have heard from Binder and Salsberg that he was contemplating setting up a party I gather that he is more agressivem has more initiative so I am attempting to contact him. I had spoken to him before the Salsberg meeting and I am expecting him to phone me tonight sometime when he gets in from work.

We are in close contact with

With our own forces and a few dissident CCFers we could call a meeting but at this stage I do not think it a good thing. Salsberg and his group it seems to me are quite key to the success of starting off on a proper basis the whole regroupment process in the Torontoarea--and it looks as if we are going to have to bide our time for a while. I would very much like to hear what you have to suggest. Saslberg and his group seem to have no inclination at all to move out and test the possibilities--they want guarantees all the time letting the forces that are the sole guarantee further and further dissipate. I broached the idea when last I saw you of your coming here and our moving out together with the forces we have--what do you think of this idea now. Danny Daniels and Haddow are well known in the Toronto area. Do you have any contact yet with Salsberg? What does he have to say to you. I think he has been quite frank in his discussions with me but perhaps not. The possibilities here are as great if not greater than in Montreal. Can we afford to continue waiting on Salsberg and company or do you think we should try to pull them along

with warmest regards

Ross

April 22, 1958

Robert Haddow
Montreal, Que.

Dear Bob;

Takes me a long time to write..but it is not that I do not want to.

I must say that it was a real pleasure to see and to hear you at the forum last month. There is much that I would have liked to have talked over with you--old problems, present ones and ones yet ahead. For instance the comments in your speech to the effect that the road to socialism "cant be the road of 1917 because that means nuclear war and the end of everything." Do you mean by this that you think that the working class ca no longer indulge in revolutionary struggle as the US State Department will thereupon unleash the war, the H Bomb war.

There is no doubt that the launching of war today lies in many fewer hands than ever before in history...and that we live of the brik of it over a longer time than ever before. There is much truth in the opinion that this war could be launched through what they call an accident, so needful is capitalism of this war,so prepared are all the forces, so easy would it be to set off. While it is true that the drive to export surplus capital is the fundamental impetus behind the US war drive, the very existence of the Soviet Union itself , its powerful attractive force to the colonial peoples, and now its moving out into competition with the imperialists into the world trade arena. Yes, the march forward of the revolution towards victory would tend to through the capitalist class into a panic and tend to thrust them into a war. But it seems to me that everything is driving that way--every time the Soviet steel index jumps a point. It is not exlucded that if the revolution were a highly controlable affair, that if we had connections into the inner circles of the Pentagon we could control all these various factors into account and cut the risks down to a minimum. Of course no one would suggest that Sviet economy be held back. But so too I do not think even if we could which we cannot would we suggest that the revolutionary struggles of the masses be held back. For it seem to me that the only thing that has stopped the war so far, the H Bomb war, has been the lack of preparedness of the worlds peoples from Wall Street's point of view, the continually advancing colonial revolutions, the insecurity of capitalism in France, Italy and England.

Are you a member of the Council of Socialist Clubs, Bob? I wonder where it is going. I hear that Salsberg, Smith, Lipshitz and others are going to Montreal around May 24th I wonder what they are up to. I have had several discussions with Salsberg, a lengthy discussion with Binder. We have been trying to encourage them to collaborate with us in launching a regroupment forum here in Toronto. But to no avail. In my opinion this is the nedd of the moement, nothing else. Sims it appears raised the matter of forming a party he wanted to contest Trinity against Buck. In my own opinion a party at this stage would be a step backwards. From all I see these comrades have not even begun to discuss the past and where the LPP went wrong but they havent started to discuss the present. Sims would be forming a party without a program--or at best a party with the same old program just shaken lose of the Stalin aura. The formation of a party would tend to cut across if not cut off the discussion which must and can most profitably develop through the forums.

There is a lot of confusion around these days. A couple of weeks ago I attend a UJPO

meeting addressed by Leo Huberman. About 100 people attended--Salsberg, Fistell, Sam Carr, Garfinkle, some confrere's of Jean-M B etc. I got the impression that some of those in attendance consider that to listen to a professorial talk by Huberman a a few polite questions afterwards is a substitute for the socialists really getting together and thrashing out their views. A very profedsorial talk--Huberman passed off as good coin the line that India was advancing to socialism via the democratic way and that China by the curtailment of civil rights.....and he Leo Huber man while in favor of the democratic way was compelled to admit that China was outstripping India by leaps and bounds. Of course there is one little, ever so little difference between India and China--the latter having had a revolution. What more clever argument in justification of the suppression of the workers could Stalinism find than Huberman's argument---after all it works doesn't it. Of course the workers and peasants have to be mobilized for the revolution but after, in the building of socialism its a matter of choice--and according to the evidence according to Huberman the authoritarian way works. I suppose you noticed that Gomulka has moved in against the instituttions of workers control that arose during the Octboer revolution. We will if there is room be publishing some interesting data on the great increases in production that developed with workers control in Poland.

Have you been invited to speak at the coming forum on Socialism and Democracy? A very good topic. This is probably the most important and has been the source of much discussion in the forums in the US. Cannon has a very interesting contribution on this very tropic in a recent issue of the International Socialist Review. Do you know this magazine.? In the latest issue Joe Hansen has an extremely rounded appreciation of the various viewpoints on the path to workers democracy in the USSR.

A young friend and comrade of mine has moved down to Montreal in the last week. His name is Bruce Batten. I have suggested that he drop in and see you.He has a pile of material with him that I think will interest you --he has copies of these magazines.

Do you ever get into Toronto. When down there last I suggested to Gagnon that he come into Toronto to help us spark off a regroupment forum here. Salsberg and friends who appear to meet together ocassionally seem to be unwilling to move out. I gather that they want some guarantees that there will be masses under them. I was thinking that Gagnon and a few others like Doug Carr and Max Armstrong who are interest could altogehter pull the Salsberg group along but there response to our proposal for a May Day meeting and athe publication of a pamphlet received a thumbs down reception. And now there is this jaunt to Montreal. I have asked Henri what he thinks of the proposition of his coming to Toronto now. We could go out with our own forces and a few others but I dont think it advisable at this time. Who do you know in the Toronto area who might be seriously interested. Do you think that you could play a beneficial role in the process here in Toronto. It might be a bit of an imposition on you--somewhere in your speech you mentioned that you had been a Marxist before the Russian Revolution--that should make you ate least sixty although I must say you do not look it at all. How do you find yourself standing up under the grind of punching the clock after all these years.

If you ever get into Toronto these days by all means look us up. I would be pleased to have you stay over at my place. Drop us a line when you get an opportunity. I am going to try to get down to the next forum but we will be in the midst of launching four of our boys off in a national tour and many other matters and so I do not know. What do you think of the Vanguard. I would like to hear your opinion very much. You did get the copy of the Militant with Cannon's speech I hope. Incidnetly there is a book that you will enjoy reading. Malcolm Bruce who is pulling together some of his own experiences tells me that it is most valuble. It is called THE ROOTS OF AMERICAN COMMUNISM by Draper (MacMillan Pub) How is the library situation in Montreal

fraternally

Ross Dowson

#29- Apr. 1958

Que. Students Hit Duplessis

By CHARLES WRIGHT
Our Montreal Correspondent

An unusual blow was struck recently in the battle of education versus Duplessis in Quebec. Over 18,000 students boycotted their lectures on March 6 in protest when the premier refused to meet the student representatives in a discussion on the problems faced by both the six Quebec universities and the students. This refusal had been expected because earlier experience had shown that Duplessis was not deeply concerned with the problems of education. The purpose of this strike was to make the public more aware of the plight of higher education in this province.

Reaction to the boycott was varied. It was supported by the CCF and the trade unions, but not by the pro-Duplessis press. Most of the university principals made statements against the walkout, and lectures were held as usual. Thus the public was shown that this was purely a student affair unsupported by any other group involved in education.

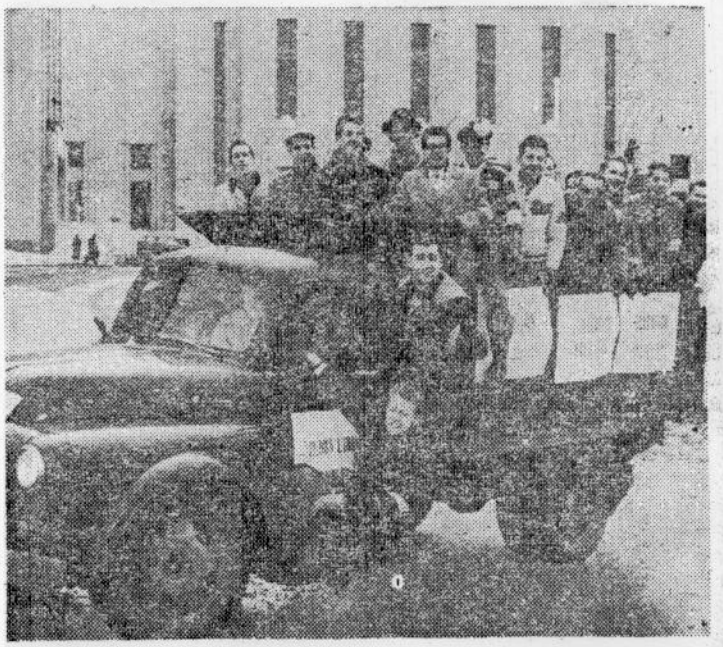
The walkout was staged successfully, but at Sherbrooke University the student body withdrew because of pressure from the faculty. At all of the remaining five universities except one, the students were able to attend their lectures if they so desired. But even then about 90-95 per cent did not do so. The one exception was the University of Montreal where the picket lines allowed only faculty members on the campus. Picket lines were also formed at some of the other universities, but these had orders to allow anyone to pass who wanted to.

At the same time student volunteers distributed to the public copies of a bilingual leaflet called **The Quebec Student** which contained a summary of the situation and the conclusions of a brief submitted to the provincial government. This brief recommended that annual grants to the universities be fixed by law and that all students be given free financial aid according to their needs.

The walkout has succeeded admirably in presenting the problems of higher education to the public, but one cannot be certain at the present moment of how the public as a whole will react. A large number of students did not really care about the action in the first place: to them it was only a day off. Nevertheless, many students were sincere in their desire for improvement, and the struggle against Duplessis' educational policies is being continued.

The student representatives of the five universities which participated in the boycott have decided to continue their program of bringing the needs of higher education in Quebec to the attention of the public. At the same time three students from the University of Montreal have been trying each day to obtain an interview with the premier. So far they have not succeeded.

The students of Quebec will soon be writing their examinations, and then all scholastic activities will cease for the summer. But next fall one can expect further action on the part of the students, if by that time Duplessis has not agreed to a meeting with their representatives.



Protesting Premier Duplessis' refusal to meet student leaders and discuss financial problems, students went on a day's strike and toured Montreal streets shouting their disagreement.

Correction

A serious error was committed in the February issue. A front page box read that "The CCF MP's voted for the stepped up military budget presented to the house of commons by the Diefenbaker government in January." In a last-minute rush of going to press this was not checked. Subsequent investigation has proven this statement to be false. While the daily press has contained many comments by leading CCFers that would only lead to the conclusion that they would have voted that way, they did not do so. The Diefenbaker government did not present a budget to the house, therefore no MP was compelled to take a stand. Diefenbaker abused the use of Governor-General's warrants, designed to allow the government to meet emergencies, to the extent of spending $500 million, the highest in history without parliamentary approval. We sincerely apologize for this grave error.

#29-Apr. 1958

THE WORKERS' VANGUARD
81 QUEEN STREET WEST TORONTO 1, ONTARIO

50¢ for 12 issues, $1.00 buys your sub and one for a friend

Youth Forum in Toronto Has Considerable Promise

By H. LAWRENCE

Joseph B. Salsberg, a former leading spokesman of the Labor Progressive Party, and a former member of the Ontario parliament, addressed a recent meeting of the Socialist Youth Forum, a new youth formation in the Toronto area. Mr. Salsberg spoke on Youth and Socialism, stressing the need for a regroupment of socialist forces, and expressing his solidarity with the intentions of the forum. He was well received by the 25 young people in attendance, which the discussion revealed were of a wide political background; Christian, Trotskyist, ex-CCF, ex-Stalinist, etc. The forum at which Mr. Salsberg spoke was the fourth in a series held on Thursday evenings.

According to a spokesman of the forum, they believe that a common basis for discussion and action exists among socialist youth of all tendencies, and the forum is the beginning of an alliance to meet the great need for a youth movement on a broad and independent basis.

Aside from a functioning group in Saskatchewan, the CCF youth disappeared over a year ago, after a string of expulsions which narrowed and weakened its ranks. The National Federation of Labor Youth, now called the Socialist Youth League, which is practically non-existent, is so closely tied to the Labor Progressive Party that there is no chance for regroupment within it.

The Socialist Youth Forum has already established connections with a similar formation in the United States, and the members of this formation are publishing a monthly newspaper called THE YOUNG SOCIALIST.

Highlighting their activity, these young people called a Midwest Conference on Perspectives of Socialist Youth last month in Chicago, where a score of US cities and campuses were represented, including the Socialist Youth Forum of Toronto. The conference endorsed a policy of mutual aid in the establishment of independent non-exclusive clubs throughout America. They also boldly endorsed resolutions demanding the return of right to travel to all Americans, an end to H-Bomb Tests, and freedom for the two Smith Act victims, Green and Winston.

Virtually every tendency of the radical left attended the Midwest Conference, thus proving, according to the representative from Toronto, that the common basis exists among socialist youth, and that the regroupment atmosphere is developing. These Toronto youth are raring to go.

The Workers Vanguard #29 - Apr 1958

SEL Campaign Real Success

By FRED JOHNSTON

One bright spot shines through the Canadian federal election just past . . . that of the campaign carried on by the Socialist Educational League in Toronto's Broadview riding, behind its candidate, Ross Dowson.

The SEL's campaign, a truly socialist one, presented a dynamic alternative to the electors. In the razzle-dazzle and blare of the high priced national campaigns, and restricted to one riding, its impact was necessarily limited. But the demands and slogans so sadly lacking in the CCF campaign were advanced effectively.

Shortly after Dowson's nomination, a committee room was opened on Gerrard St. East, in a busy section of the riding. It was a beehive of activity, never letting up till the polls closed on election day.

The committee room itself reflected the pride of the campaign workers in the program put forward. Across the front of the store used as HQ was a large sign in letters more than a foot high which read BAN THE H-BOMB TESTS. Socialist literature was displayed in the window and large signs carrying such slogans as 30 FOR 40 and JOBS FOR ALL were pasted up. A 4 by 8 foot swinging sign projected out over the sidewalk calling for PEACE AND SOCIALISM and VOTE SOCIALISM, VOTE DOWSON.

The WORKERS VANGUARD was placed at the disposal of the election committee and a total of 48,000 copies of the two leaflets

See SEL—page 4

SEL IN BROADVIEW

(Continued from page 1)

was distributed. Not only did the voters of Broadview receive these two distributions, but the main factories in the Toronto area received one or the other leaflet.

As extensive as possible door-to-door canvassing was carried on. From the canvassers, who, after working all day at their regular jobs, came out in their "spare time" to work for socialism, one couldn't help but catch the enthusiasm that each radiated.

The canvassers not only carried campaign literature but also took socialist pamphlets with them. A couple of dozen different pamphlets were sold, as were about a score of subscriptions to the Vanguard. A further drive will be carried out in the near future amongst the many friends of socialism that were found in the riding.

On the final Saturday before election day a sound truck covered the area from early morning until late in the evening. The workers manning this truck exposed the PC candidate's, Mr. Hees, record as a strike-breaker and a scab-herder . . . attacked the policies of both the Tory and Liberal administrations on foreign and domestic policies, including the wasting of money on arms expenditures while spending literally nothing on housing, schools, hospitals, etc. . . . and called for teachers, doctors, nurses, etc., instead of fighter pilots.

After the sound truck had driven past a gang of TTC track workers, doing repairs on Danforth Ave., we were told that some of the fellows shouted out the slogan 30 for 40, 30 for 40, as they worked up and down the track. A Scotch immigrant in the gang told one of our campaigners how happy he was to hear STOP THE H BOMB TESTS blaring out over the heads of the Danforth Ave. shoppers.

Our campaign activities were reflected in the poll in several ways . . . and not only in the 447 votes which the Socialist Educationa League racked up, which was greater than the combined total of the votes received in the 1953 election by the Labor - Progressive and the Socialist Labor Party candidates. In the 1953 federal election, the last time that these groups campaigned in Broadview, their combined vote was 354. In the face of the Tory landslide, Mr. Hees' vote did not increase to the extent of his many cohorts in the Toronto area. Across Toronto, the PCs enjoyed an increased vote of over 31 per cent, but the Tory vote in Broadview was kept down to a 19 per cent increase. The CCF vote dropped from 4,078 or 18.8 per cent of the poll last June, to 3,356 or 14.1 per cent of the poll.

This campaign was certainly the deepest and most concentrated one yet conducted by the Socialist Educational League, and should have a very good effect in broadening the advancement of socialism amongst the ranks of the working class.

REGROUPMENT - MONTREAL
IMMEDIATE TASKS AND PERSPECTIVES

Montreal and the Province of Quebec have been the scene of the most viable results to date in Canada of the impact of the 20th Congress of the CPSU and its aftermath. The formation of the Montreal Socialist Forum has given a stumulus to radicals in the rest of the country, and already there are signs of movement and response not only among the many workers who have deserted the LPP, but among socialists in the CCF and the radical ~~movement~~ youth movement. The results to date of the first modest efforts here in Quebec demonstrate the possibilities across the country for a drawing together of diverse socialist forces, of tendencies towards a regroupment of socialists in which we of the Socialist Educational League have a vital interest.

This in the only area in Canada where up to now a conscious effort has been made to reorient and preserve from demoralisation and withdrawal from the political scene, elements formerly caught up in the bureaucratic machine of Stalinism. In spite of the refusal of ex-provincial leader Gui Caron to participate in any political activity (along with other top ex-leaders of the LPP), the organisation of the Council of Socialist Clubs and the Forum under the leadership of ex-Stalinists Gagnon, Dubé, Fortin, Patterson, is a demonstration, that given a lead, many ex-LPPers who consider themselves to be revolutionary socialists, are still looking for new answers and a new approach to the problems of the Canadian socialist movement.

In Montreal, our task is to take full advantage of this entirely new situation within the Canadian socialist movement. The shake-up in old political alignments, the beginnings of the break-down of old prejudices, and the feeling for mutual collaboration within the socialist movement, give us new opportunities to work with our rounded ideology and program with elements previously isolated from us by bureaucratically-imposed barriers of the new-shattered Stalinist momolith.

Two main fields of work are opening up here, both of which are at present closely related.

(1) The Council of Socialist Clubs.....A basically French-Canadian working class group with connections in Abitibi and Quebec City (also ex-LPP groups). The core of this group first broke with the LPP in 1947, and re-entered after the Krushchev Report opened up hopes of a "new deal" in the LPP. They were driven out last spring, taking with them about of the 200 LPPers remaining at the time. Hundreds more had left previously and drifted into inactivity and demoralisation.

They broke with the LPP mainly on organizational question, the subservience of the Buck-Dionne leadership to the Kremlin, lack of democratic discussion in the LPP, the sectarian isolation of the LPP from any fruitful collaboration with other groups in the labor movement, etc.

Politically, the group is attempting to find its way, and is open to influence from both right and left. Having broken from the Stalinist apparatus, which due to Kremlin domination, they have come to look upon as a foreign and dogmatic imposition of ideology without regard to the needs of the struggle for socialism in Canada, they are seeking what they call a "Canadian road to socialism. They look upon themselves as Marxists and Leninists, and wish to be revolutionary socialists, but at the same time carry with them years of miseducation in the anti-Marxists perversions of Stalinism. Peaceful co-existence,

illusions about the Canadian parliamentary system, an excessive concern with the question of Canadian nationalism. Although bitterly hostile to the LPP, they have not as yet come to grips with the source of rise of Stalinism in the USSR. They entertain many illusions about the regime in the USSR "right-ing itself", consider the crimes of the Stalinist bureaucracy "mistakes", the suppression of the Hungarian revolution by Russian force "necessary". They hold many mistaken conceptions about Trotskyism, that we are sectarian, cling-ing to outworn dogmas (on the state, and imperialism as the inevitable cause of war), and excessively wrapped up in the old Russian struggles, "depasses par l'histoire". On the other hand, there is great willingness to collaborate with us, accept us as comrades with whom they have a great realm of agreement; this marks a complete rejection of the Stalinist slanders against us. I will deal later with the efforts to overcome their misconceptions and prejudices.

Although very badly miseducated in Stalin's perverted "Marxism", the C of SC is genuinely attempting to come to grips with Canadian political pro-blems in a Marxist way. Their acceptance of many reformist ideas is based on a lack of understanding of Marxism, combined with a desire to find some magic formula for a road to the masses, to overcome the years of sterile isolation in the LPP. In spite of this there is a genuine contempt for the social-democracy as a reformist movement. Their announced aim is build a Marxist-Leninist party based on Canadian conditions, a genuinely revolutionary perspective, which opens the door to collaboration and discussion with us. Thus we see a contradictory motion, an organisation which considers itself revolutionary, but grabbing at rightist formulas; a group until recently trapped in the reactionary Stalinist apparatus, but now searching a new path, and open to influence and direction from us.

2) The Montreal Socialist Forum.....An independent organisation open to all socialists regardless of their political affiliations, launched on the initiative of the Council of Socialist Clubs last March in an effort to make connections with other elements in the radical movement. Forum participants at present include the C of SC which is still the predominant force; the SEL, which has been an active collaborator from the outset, there being Trotskyist representation on the Committee here as well as full and fraternal collaborat-ion between the SEL in Toronto, and the Committee here.

The student youth movement at McGill University has been active in the Forum from the outset. The Forum meetings and committee work provide an ex-cellent opportunity for us to meet and discuss with the youth movement, at least the better and more conscious elements.

Danny Daniels, former LPP and CSU leader, who is now an independent connected with the National Guardian, was one of the key founders of the Forum. Other socialists, ex-LPPers at present unattached, have been drawn out by the meetings organised through the forums. Elements which broke from LPP with Gagnon and Patterson, but as yet are not playing an active role in the C of SC have been attracted by the Forum, which shows broader and more immed-iate perspective.

There has been some headway in influencing some elements in the CCF, with an active CCFer on the Committee and a number of the more left-inclined CCFers attending the Forum meetings. The CCF leadership has refused to par-ticipate, as has the Buck-Dionne remnants of the LPP, although individual members still in the LPP have attended the Forums and been impressed.

The forum is based on the principle of non-exclusion, aimed at a wide-open discussion within the socialist movement. Growing diversity of participation will offset any tendency towards making the forum an adjunct or front for the C of SC, which was a source of concern in the early stages.

At the same time that the Forum must be free of any effort to make it a vehicle for a particular tendency... a move which would blow up the movement before it gets underway. However, all serious elements look upon the movement and its discussions as a stage in the regroupment of socialist forces in Canada. This is our objective, the meeting of groups and tendencies, with a view to hammering out a program of common actions, and a revolutionary socialist political party. The Forum movement has an attractive power beyond the capacity of the different socialist groups acting alone, and the influence of our ideology and rounded program cannot but be great both among the other participants in the forum and new layers of workers and now-inactive radicals attracted by such a movement... Even though the Forum itself is non-partisan, its discussions are bound to lead in the direction of action on the part of its participants. As I shall show later, the whole new atmosphere created around the movement here has already opened the door towards collaboration and discussion between ourselves and the Council of Socialist Clubs.

Our immediate tasks in Montreal break down under three headings, all closely related, of course.

1) Forum Committee and forum speaking work.
2) Extention of influence within the Council of Socialist Clubs.
3) The searching out of elements for more intensive educational work with the view to the development of other conscious Trotskyists to work with us.

1. Although there is not an SEL in Montreal, we are accepted on the Committee as Trotskyist representative , and are in a position to secure the influence of the SEL in Toronto, although advisedly not in an official capacity.

There are latent tendencies to see the Forum movement as being broad to the point of including liberal and reformist elements. Certain dissident Stalinists, notably Daniels, and without a doubt this includes Salsberg and Co. in Toronto, have spoke of making the forum for socialists with "progressive" and "democratic-thinking" people, a vehicle for the formation of a broad reformist progressive party. Such a development, which would tend to exclude us, and give a rightward orientation to the dissident Stalinist elements. Life itself excludes such a possibility, with the reformists having their eye on the new political formation. The failure to make "respectable" connections has brought a more distinct orientation to the left on the part of the C of SC.

While defending the necessity for a broad and all-inclusive discussion, I believe our main efforts should be directed towards deepening its socialist character, by posing in our speeches and our policy, regroupment as one of a socialist and a revolutionary character.

The extension of the movement nationally cannot but help this development. A Toronto socialist forum in which we were active, a Vancouver forum in which ourselves with other members of the CCF left were influential, could assure both national connections for the movement here of a leftist character.

gravitate against any efforts to pull together a national party of a reformist character in early stages of regroupment.

Our central TASK in Forum work is to build the Forum, to provide the widest possible audience for a discussion of the different points of view in the Canadian socialist movement. In so doing, a favorable milieu of the advanced workers of Canada will be created where our influence will be strong. Both as collaborators in building the movement, and the only revolutionary socialist current or organised tendency in the country which really knows where it is going.

The Workers Vanguard is an important weapon in the regroupment struggle. The only left-wing national paper which supports regroupment, its concentration on this field of work should be increased. The Vanguard national tour has had a considerable impact here, and the circulation of regroupment material has enhanced our prestige as being the most active workers in spreading the idea of forums across the country. Possibilities should be investigated of opening a portion of the Vanguard pages for open discussion, becoming even more an organ of regroupment at the same time as being the promoter of our own viewpoint. There are possibilities of securing circulation of the paper here on a broader scale than our own individual work.

Starting in mid-October, the Socialist Forum plans monthly meetings to discuss various aspects of the struggle for socialism in Canada. We are assured of full presentation of our viewpoint, either through our own contributions, or through a Toronto SEL participant. Until Toronto forums can be organised, periodic participation by a Toronto comrade here would be valuable in maintaining official connection between the SEL and the Forum. The forum meetings provide us with an audience for our views on a much larger scale than before the regroupment process began, give us the opportunity to overcome prejudice and misconceptions about Trotskyism, and to meet and influence individuals who may become seriously interested in our program and ideology, as the answers to the needs of a serious struggle for socialism in Canada.

2. The Council of Socialist Clubs, a movement just broken from the reactionary strait-jacket of the Stalinist apparatus, and searching for new answers to the struggle for socialism in Canada, offers the most viable field for extending the influence of Trotskyism here. The overcoming of prejudices and the necessary Marxist re-education of elements who have spent, years in a Stalinist movement requires the utmost patience in applying our advanced ideas on the basis of their own experiences, and a long term and flexible approach on the question of formal organisation.

There is in this group a genuine regroupment atmosphere, the desire to work together with others who are working towards the establishment of socialism in Canada. On the other hand there is a certain suspicion and nervousness about close collaboration with people who have been active members of an organised tendency which knows where it is going, and are still active proponents of the program and the paper of the SEL. The overcoming of such fears requires a completely open and above-board approach in our relations, and the complete absence of a factional, "recruiting" approach to their organisation.

Ex-Stalinists are not going to respond to organisational ultimatums, and they are not going to respond and accept at once an entirely different

approach to Marxist theory and positions. Patient collaboration, putting forward our views on questions as they arise, and showing their relation to our general theories will undoubtedly have an impact on the C of SC. It is a group in evolution, at present still Stalinist in their political positions, but having broken with the apparatus, is subject pressures from the right towards liquidation along with the thousands of other ex-LPPers who see no alternative, or from the left, towards revolutionary socialism, on which we have developed the most consistent and logical theory and program.

They are aiming at the formation of a new Marxist-Leninist party which they see coming through a regroupment of socialist forces. Due to the refusal of Salsberg and Co. to do anything, and the insufficient development of the regroupment process, they have decided not to move out on their own to the establishment of such a party, a position which we supported as essentially that of the SEL on the formation of a new revolutionary party.

The feeling for the formation of a party is essentially progressive, and reflects a genuine desire to do something on the part of the membership. We are working with them in a fraternal way, attempting to give leadership in constructive activities, and at the same time step up Marxist education in and around the group. The group is confronted with a lack of leadership, lack of direction and purpose in its work. Any assistance we can give in these fields can only enhance the prestige of Trotskyism and make it a pole of attraction to the members and possibly even the leaders such as Gagnon and Patterson, who in spite of their reformist and Stalinist illusions, are sincerely devoted to building an effective socialist organisation, unlike the Salsbergs and Carons who sit idle awaiting respectable connections to find them and accept them. The experiences and successes of the SEL, notably the National Tour, along with our work, will compel and have already compelled them to take notice.

3. In all our work, in the Forum, the Conseil, and visiting of individuals with the Vanguard and regroupment material, we are searching out elements for more intensive contact work. In September we plan to start a series of classes on Marxist economics which will encompass, we hope, some of the better elements among the students, and members of the Council of Clubs. Although we are steering clear of subjects which would give the impression that we were starting up classes to push the Trotskyist viewpoint, an attempt at organisation which would at this stage result in no class at all, we hope to attract the more serious elements have them look to us for theoretical leadership, and cultivate those who showed interest on a personal basis. Many young students are looking for answers, and with patient cultivation something may turn up.

Open work with the Vanguard, full presentation of our ideas on appropriate occasions, combined with a practical demonstration of the Trotskyist program as a program which answers the needs of revolutionary movement in Canada, can result in an important break-through in the struggle for the building of a Trotskyist cadre in this city, and the extention through regroupment of the influence of our program on a national scale. What is needed is patience, and skill in learning how to present our ideas effectively in a milieu of people who wish to be revolutionary socialists, but have for years been mis-led and mis-educated by the pseudo-Marxist agents of the Kremlin bureaucracy.

- 30 -

NOTE ... Mention should be made of problems presented by the necessity to become completely fluent in the French language. This problem is gradually being met, but is a long slow process. Political debate on an involved level is made difficult by difficulties on both sides. It also hinders to a certain extent complete social integration in the milieu in which we are moving.

Authors: Barry + Bunny Brent?
Found in 1958 - ed.

569 Yonge St
May 4, 1958

Montreal

Dear Charlie; Kinghorn

Just a hurried note---busy running the store besides trying to get out the paper. We have started the first legx of what is to be a hational tour--four comrades left Friday evening for Guelph, Kitchener Stratford so we are temporarily understaffed or you might say unajusted to the changed situation.

Yes, the Gananogue suggestion sounds like a good one. You will have to suggest some dates so that I can arragne my schedule accordingly.

Yes, we certainly do want an article on the coming forum. I am hoping to make arrangments so that I can attend this coming forum. Some one from the SEL will speak. We got the official invitation a week or so ago and a short note yesterday from Gagnon.

Hope to see you this comnig forum. If I am unable to make it I will be writing you.

Have you met Bruce Batten yet?

fraternally

Ross Dowson

QUEBEC SOCIALIST FORUM
3658 St. Lawrence Blvd.

We wish to invite you to the second

-- PUBLIC FORUM --

being held May 9th, at the Rialto Hall, 5711 Park. Top Floor

Subject: Canadian Democracy and the Struggle for Socialism

This also serves as a request for your group to delegate a representative to appear on thepanel.

Please reply before May 1st, 1958.

J. Godin

D. Daniels - J. Godin
Secretaries

Answer to 6005 Duke apt 1

Mtl Ouest

c/o J. Godin.

569 Yonge Street
May 4, 1958

Bruce Batten
2080 Jeanne Mance
Montreal

Dear Bruce;

Hope you got the money order I sent in care of Mrs Mitchell. It is the total amount of Bunny's income tax return. I hear you have a job but I figure you will need the money to tide you over.

Hope you are getting settled down. Gagnon has dropped us a line and mentions that you dropped in on him and that you are already collaborating with them in their work.

But to get to the immedaite purpose of this note. I have accepted on behalf of the League an official invitation to address the next forum. We have proposed to Gagnon that the contributors to this forum present the speech they are giving in written form. Our prposition is that we will take on the responsibility of publishing the four or five contributions in pamphlet form(printed.) We could really make use of such a pamphlet on the tour across the country. For the purpose of the most impact it would be well that we had names of some national importance at this time appear on the pamphlet. I have asked Gagnon to write to Salsberg so we have his name on the pamphlet. I think that we would want my name on the pamphlet representing the SEL. Therefore I should be writing up the speech and making preparations to come down for the Friday night

Alas we are up to our neck right now. The boys have pulled out for this week end--will be back Tuesday only in order to pull out again to the Niagara district. I have been looking after the store-on top of t I have been turning back every body's articles to this coming issue of the paper as not being satisfactory. And we want thiscusse oto be off Thursday night so that we have it for an anti-H Bomb rally in Queens Park on the 11th

Now I would like to know how you are fixed. First re you going to be able to go the the Friday night forum there? Are you working a day job. WIRE ME YOUR ANSWER RIGHT AWAY. If you are unable to attend then of course I will certainly do so. I was thinking that I should just force myself to make the time to write up the ten minute contribution that I would make and send it on to you to present to the forum on the SEL's and my behalf--we could say I was suddenly and unavoidably preve from coming. What do you think of this idea. It would intorduce you qui effectively as the representative to everyone of the SEL and the Vengua without our going out of our way undusly to do so. But wire we as to your availablility to attend.

Have dropped Kinghorn a letter in reply to his saying of course we want him to write us something on the forum--you could coolaborate with him...

warmest regards

569 Yonge Street
Toronto, Ont.
May 13, 1958

The American Forum for Socialist Education
1133 Broadwey
New York 10, N.Y.
U.S.A.

Dear Sidney Lens and or A.J. Muste;

Many Canadians of the Left have been watching with enthusiasm and hope the activities of the American Forum. Not only because we are interested in the ideological armament and unity of the American socialists but we see in them a guide, and inspiration and stimulant to the rearmament and unity of the Canadian Left.

You will be interested to know that things are starting to move in the direction of the creation of a national forum here in Canada---a forum parallel to your own. We are enclosing a detailed report of the first meeting of such a forum which took place in Montreal just over a month ago. This forum was alunched by the Council of Socialist Clubs with the aid of the Socialist Educational League, the all-inclusive Socialist Club of McGill University, individual CCFers and LPPers and various unattached socialists. It was a great success and attracted almost 150 persons. The latest fonum held on May 9th took as its subject SOCIALISM AND DEMOCRACY. Invitations were sent out to the CCF(Co-operative Commnnwealth Federation), the LPP(Labor Progressive Party), the Socialist Labor Party, the United Jewish Peoples Order, the SEL & the Council of Socialist Clubs and others. I do not yet have a report on this forum but there should be one here within a few days.

But this brings me to the immediate purpose of this note. An agreement has been reached to publish the various contributions on this subject in printed form. Our main purpose in doing this would be to promote the whole process on a national scale. We feel that such a pamphlet would be very effective this ways. Your pamphlet Questions for the Left gave us the idea. But of course we would not have a long introductory essay such as the Lens essay---we would carry the main contributions to the discussion. We would like however ~~xhkm~~ messages and expressions of solidarity with our purposes.I feel that it would be a great help to us if the American Forum would be so good as to send us a short message of solidarity that would be suitable for publication

I am enclosing a copy of the Workers Vanguard which contains a report of the first forum along with material that gives a sketch of the backgrounds of the major participants. Looking forward to your early reply.

fraternally

Ross Dowson

May 13, 1958

Dear Bruce;

Just received your letter and a copy of the spaech. Excellent, Excelle ent, all of it. I have been waiting impatiently--all Saturday, came over Sunday and worked over here--the forums have ceased-in the hope you would phone...and stayed here Monday. Even tried to phone you and they had no listing. Perhaps you should check on that in case others should meet this same problem. Not of course that I had any real doubtsabout the competency of the job that you would do. I just wanted to know and be with you in this very good experience.

I have hurriendly and impatiently and excitedly read through the speech and everything seems very good to me. Havent had a chance to study it and the same goes for your very detailed report of the situation there taken as a whole. But everything seems to be measuring up to all my expectations. There are of course many problems and I will take time out this weekend to go through the material closely and given you some of my opinions.

What we have here now is very very busy. Sven of you have now left us The tourists left for their thrid and final hop before heading north. They left this ~~morning~~ morning. Their first hop to Stratford, Kitchener area netted about 50 subs and the second in the Niagara area about 60 They are now off ~~the~~ Windsor and wont be back for ten to fourteen days. This morning they took Fred along with them. They are dropping him off in Hamilton. After the very effective distribution he and Pat did at the LPP May Day meeting Fred raised the matter with me again of our sending someone into Hamilton. He has been steadily getting into more and more debt , he has now got a part time job--an hour a day--and I just cant see him getting out of his position of drift without something drastic happening. So I fell on the idea that while we cannot afford to do without him here at the same time we cannot let him go on the way he is--perhaps were he to go to Hamilton it would be just what is needed to wrench him out of his problems.....a day or so ago I heard via the grape vine that he is ging to Hamulton to stay. I told him to raise this matter at the branch and get approval to go there to seek employment and if successful to stay there. It was agreed. So he left this morning--and with the intention which he has never had here of getting a job--any job--he was talking about taking a dishwashers job until he could get something else. Iyt seems that we will now have a campaigner in Hamiton- this may be just what Fred needs to get him out of himself.

The tour is turning up some very valuable contacts--the most important so far the district chairman onf the LPP in the Welland area. Very friendly wants to read all of Trotsky, gave us his brothers name in London. In fact we have the key ex-LPPers in the Welland area reading the Vanguard. This one fellow said that he always agrees with what he reads in our press but less and less with what he reads in the Tribune.

How did you like the last issue--on the H Bomb? We have put it to good use. Participated in the antiH Test parade last Sunday. Rmmm here was light sporadic rain and this no doubt cut down attendance. Ended up in the Queen's park banshell with about 300

Quite a lesson there. I knew by face at least 1/3 of the crowd--leftists of various types although no sTalinists at all. Here they are afraid to v voice their ideas, to identify themselves with a good cause but bent of on being part of a mass movement which is supposed to exist if only they will keep quiet and not alienate it. The result--they were the audience practically no church people--they had no voice but had to listen to a lot of drivel very little of which they believd in. I would say another third of the audience were passersby who took shelter in the shell. We hadned o out the peper--one woman came over to give us 25 cents for 5 copies she had taken. AnOther fellow came over and sked for 10 copies . We got good press. The Star had a two column picture with three of us in it--both the Star and G M mentioned our "Marxist paper the Workers Vanguard, edited by Ross Dowson etc etc.--they presented us as Communist supporters-sort of unwanted. Last night we covered a meeting called to Listen to Lister Sinclair and got a good reception--this was held at the Unitarian church. Will be hitting the Labor council this Thursday and a Norman Thomas meeting called by the Woodsworth Foundation in a week or so.

Have written to get final details on the Europe trip. You will recall when Bunny was here last we had talked about her coming here while I was away for a cou le of weeks. As soon as I hear I will be sending her a letter. I think it would be a good idea if I turned my apartment over to her for hersatay and that you make arrangments to come up for the couple of weekends but I will let you know more on this. There has been no more documentation come through. All is strangely silent.

This weekend I will be trying to get away a document for our get together due in a couple of months

By the way--how is the Council of Socialist Clubs organized? The LPP was a party with with a political program, a developed one--statutes etc. What is the C of SC, what is it and what does it think it is.? Borensteing wrote Ernue and asked him to ask me my opinion of the youth group they are going to set up. He seems to make much of age limits. I suggested that Ernie push aside this age question. I did not know how open the C of SC is to you and had in mind the possibly advisability of your moving in and around these young university students. Yes, Cohen is a good type I think from the short talk I had with him when there last and his comments on the floor.

Now, I was intending to write Gagnon or some official in the Forum for the copies of the speeches they have so we can get right to work on the pamphlet. I would like to get it out within the next two weeks--a real rush. Is it on tapes as I gather from your letter or can we get the manuscripts at once. I myself think offhandx that we should just have the speaches, the major speeches, not the floor comments even though they are good. This means, Dowson, Gagnon, Cohen, Fortin(Abitibi) and who else.It seems to me this would still make a good pamphlet and we should proceed. How do you think they look upon you---as our Montreal agent? I myself think it would be good to deal directly on this matter with the forum personel. Let me know as soon as you can as we must get agreement on the presentation etc etc.

warmest regards

Ross

I would gather that everything is fine financially. Let me know in your short reply if Wally is working. I want to get some money he owes ud [redacted]

May 18, 1958
569 Yonge Street
Toronto, Ont.

Henri Gagnon
315 Laurier Est, Montreal

Dear Comrade Henri;

I am expecting at any moment a reply from the Rev. A.J. Muste and or Sidney Lens of the American Forum for Socialist Education to my request that they send us expressions of support in a form suitable for publication in our projected pamphlet. I sent them a copy of the Review and told them of the May 9th forum so that they would have an idea of the splendid work you are promoting.

We have not yet received the written copies of the speeches given at the forum. I have my own of course. I am anxious to receive this material so that I can get it into the printer at once and we can get down to comming to agreement on the introductory comments, the title and so forth.

Our tourists came in last weekend from the Niagara peninsula and have gone out again into the Windsor,Sarnia, London area. They will be in again to shove off for the north and Vancouver by the end of the month. They have placed the mimeographed job on the first forum in many hands. They came across a chap by the name of Campbell who I believe was LPP area chairman in the Niagara district up until recently. He was very much interested in Montreal developments and your current opinions--I gather he knows you personally. I am hoping that we will be able to have the pamphlet off the presses and in the tourists hands by the time they leave here. This will take some doing. I hope that the contributions were apt and to the point and reflect several points of view. ~~Should~~ there be some dealy in transcribing ~~some~~ some of them from tapes in case they were not presented in written form--would you send me those that are already available.

Bruce Batten wrote me a short note on the forum which we considers quite a success despite the fall in attendance. He tells me that Salsberg and company are expected to drop in on your this coming weekend. I would be interested in receiving any inofmration from you that would aid us in establishing somekind of working relations with these comrades.

fraternally

Ross Dowson

569 Yonge St
Toronto, Ont.
May 19, 1958

J. Godin
6005 Drake, Apt 1
Montreal, Que.

Dear Comrade Godin

Thank you very much for the minutes of the Socialist Forum Organizational Committee of May 5. If it is not too much trouble to you I would appreciate very much if you would continue to send me the minutes. You can be sure that I will transmit to you any ideas and experiences that we are having here

Right now I am wondering what is the delay in our receiving the written copies of the major speeches given at the last Forum. I understand that it was generally agreed that forth our proposal to publish these speeches in pamphlet form. I would appreciate receiving the material at once so that it can be sent down to the printer to be set and we can come to agreement on just how we will present the material. I have already written the Rev A.J. Muste and Sidney Lens of the American Forum for Socialist Education a request for a few words of solidarity suitable for publication. Time is of considerable importance on this matter as we hope to be able to put it in many persons hands right across the country through a national tour we have already under way

fraternally

Ross Dowson

SCIENTISTS CRY HALT DEADLY H BOMB TESTS

The Workers Vanguard

#30 - May 1958

By P. MILFORD

While the British government exploded another H Bomb in the South Pacific, one equal to at least 1 million tons of TNT, letting loose tons of deadly radioactive materials, the eminent bio-chemist, Dr. Linus Pauling, revealed a new threat to humanity in atomic fall-out—Carbon 14.

The Nobel Prize winner said Carbon 14 represents a far more serious long-term menace than all the other radioactive by-products of an atomic explosion, including the much publicized Strontium 90. The Carbon 14 created in atomic bombs already exploded will cause 5,000,000 genetically defective children over the next 300 generations, Dr. Pauling predicted, and cause millions of cases of bone cancer, leukemia and other bodily damage.

Dr. Pauling said he was shocked to read how much Carbon 14 is created in atomic explosions. With nuclear weapons already tested, the earth's content of Carbon 14 has been increased 10 per cent. This radioactive substance represents a particular threat, because carbon is so widely distributed and can be found in every tissue of the human body.

The American government, which has announced a whole new series of H Bomb tests in the South Pacific, is attempting to justify them with the claim that they are necessary in order to develop a "clean" H Bomb. But Senator Clinton P. Anderson, the former chairman of the Joint US Congressional Atomic Energy Committee, has revealed that "... the military is steadily stockpiling dirtier bombs. They not only are supporting them (dirtier bombs), they have pulled bombs out of the stockpile and inserted something which makes it dirtier."

"We talk clean on one side and we stockpile dirty on the other," he charged.

Eisenhower has entered the debate with the statement that the forthcoming tests would be dedicated almost completely to the development of clean weapons—or at least almost 40 per cent of them would be "almost completely" dedicated to the development of clean weapons.

Albert Schweitzer, 1952 Nobel prize winner, in his third appeal for cessation of H Bomb tests, charges that the "clean" H Bomb is intended "for display purposes primarily." Dr. Robert Oppenheimer, the scientist who directed governmental work that produced the first atomic bomb, told the press that "he preferred the 'dirty bomb' of a decade ago to the so-called 'clean' hydrogen bomb now in the US arsenal of weapons."

The US Atomic Energy Commission has engaged in fraud and deceit to conceal the extent of the dangers of the tests. Dr. Edward Teller, who the American government has falsely built up as the "father of the H bomb," claims that tests so far are no more dangerous to human health than being one ounce overweight.

Dr. Pauling has exposed Teller's statement as false to a scientific audience, pointing out that Dr. Teller was "in error by a factor of 1,440. Since there are 2,500,000,000 people in the world we can expect that the tests so far mean that about 1,000,000 more people will die of leukemia and other diseases than would have otherwise."

Albert Szent-Gyorgyi, 1937 Nobel Prize winner, has attacked AEC experts who speak of the effects of radioactive fallout as being almost negligible. "If, for instance, incidence in leukemia would rise by a small fraction, say .1 per cent, this may seem insignificant indeed. But .1 per cent may mean in time, 1,500 cases. Fifteen hundred dead children, laid out in a row, would look different from the number .1 per cent, and I suspect that if the children of those who think the number .1 per cent insignificant would be among the 1,500, they would arrive at a different evaluation."

Dr. Szent-Gyorgyi expressed the hope that humanity could find a "way to peace which does not lead over the dead bodies of children."

On March 20 a 2,000-member group of scientists charged that the AEC issued "incomplete and misleading" information on radioactive fallout and made facts public "only under the pressure of outside scrutinizing by non-governmental experts."

Deceit and secrecy are the main features of the Canadian government's policy on atomic fallout. Dr. Walkinson, spokesman for the government on this subject, says that the government has collected some measurements of Strontium 90 but that figures are not being released because they might be "misinterpreted."

Because of a desire to show the danger in the last series of Russian tests some radioactivity reports have come in from British Columbia. Radioactivity in the air over Vancouver have been boosted by 10 times the normal amount. About 80 per cent of Canadians live in the "hot belt" of nuclear contamination which girdles the world between 45 and 55 degrees north latitude.

Canadians and the peoples of the world have radioactive poisons in the water they drink and in the air they breathe. The road of further H Bomb tests leads over the dead bodies of men, women and children. The world's leading scientists, almost to a man, agree on the peril of H Bomb testing and the urgent need to stop the tests NOW! The people let these tests go on only at their dire peril and the peril of generations to come.

The Workers
Vanguard

#30 - May 1958

Across the globe they meet, march, strike in —

PROTEST AGAINST BOMB TESTS

Germany

Over 5,000 workers in the Dunlop rubber plant in Frankfurt, Germany, struck for 10 minutes on April 22 in protest against nuclear weapon tests and Chancellor Adenauer's readiness to accept nuclear arms. In Hamburg a round-the-clock guard is mounted in front of the city hall; the demonstrators carry posters protesting atomic death from H Bomb test fall-out. In the final hours, as Adenauer's Christian Democrats jammed legislation for the atomic armament of German forces through the Bundestag, 1,000 workers in Kassel walked out of the Henschel engineering works and marched through the city in protest. Trade union leaders said the protest had not been ordered by their organizations. The action of the Kassel workers came in the midst of a mounting threat of a general strike by West Germany's 6 million trade unionists.

The debate in the Bundestag, the longest and stormiest in its history, saw the Social Democratic Party introduce a bill calling for a national referendum on the issue but it was steam-rollered by the Christian Democrat majority. In a protest meeting in Frankfurt SD party leader Ollenhauer declared "we must act. Not only in meetings like this, but in a general strike."

Japan

The Japanese Social-Democratic Party adopted a program last month that urges the creation of an atom-free zone in Asia. It calls for the mobilization of the Japanese people against bringing nuclear weapons into the country, against the arming of foreign troops in Japan with atomic weapons, and against the equipping of the Japanese "self-defence forces" with nuclear weapons and guided missiles. It also calls for immediate and unconditional suspension of tests of atomic and nuclear weapons as a step towards world disarmament. On April 25 about 100,000 students demonstrated throughout Japan against the planned US nuclear tests in the Pacific.

Britain

The past month has witnessed a massive popular protest movement sweep Britain against the Tory government's continuation of H Bomb tests and its agreement to station US missiles on British soil. Within the Labor Party widespread disagreement has developed over

see PROTESTS RISE—page 4

From p.1

Protests Rise Across the World Against the Killer H Bomb Tests

(Continued from page 1)

the policy adopted last autumn at its Brighton Conference.

Over 10,000 people assembled in London's Trafalgar Square on April 13 to hear the leaders of the Labor Party and the Trades Union Congress launch their campaign for stopping Britain's H Bomb tests. At the back of the square in silent protest stood a contingent assembled by the Action Committee for Nuclear Disarmament and comprising many of the Aldermaston Marchers. Among their banners were many calling for industrial action, the blacking of (refusal to work on) H Bomb and rocket sites and No H Bombs for Britain.

The featured speakers, including Gaitskell and Bevan, avoided all reference to unilateral disarmament and working class action against war. Following the addresses a contingent formed up behind these banners to put on a militant demonstration. Shouting No Work on H Bombs, No Work on Rocket Bases, they moved down Piccadilly to a meeting in Hyde Park.

The Leeds City Labor Party has pledged its support to unionists who decide to black work on rocket sites, following a debate against an amendment in line with official party and Trades Union Congress policy proposing merely that installation of bases be postponed until after a summit conference. The Streatham (London) Labor Party has decided to refuse to adopt any parliamentary candidate who does not support unilateral abolition of the H bomb by Britain. The annual conference of the Lancashire and Cheshire region of the Labor Party carried a motion for the Manchester and District Council of the National Union of Railwaymen asking for a mass demonstration against the carrying of H Bombs over Britain. An audience of 1,000 people in Leeds were addressed by author J. B. Priestley, Cannon Collins and A. J. P. Taylor. Taylor said "There is no distinction between one argument for the bomb and another. When," he asked, "did a Labor Party conference authorize the last labor government to manufacture atomic and hydrogen bombs?"

Aneurin Bevan himself was shouted down by members of the Labor Party in London who were discussing the party's policy on nuclear disarmament. Delegates denounced the right wing's policy on the grounds that it did not go far enough. Bevan defended Britain's possession of the H Bomb with the threat that it would lose its allies, and accused persons who would place her in that position of being "enemies of Great Britain." Gaitskell, taking quite a heckling from 350 delegates at a joint Labor Party and Trades Union Congress peace campaign rally in Birmingham, stammered "I don't know" to the question as to whether as prime minister he would sanction the use of H weapons.

MAY DAY RALLY HELD IN TORONTO

When efforts to hold a united May Day rally in Toronto failed, the Socialist Educational League held one of its own. Ross Dowson was the featured speaker. The chairman outlined American origins of May Day and Canadian experiences on this day of working class solidarity and struggle. The main theme of Dowson's speech was the increasingly favorable possibilities for the unity of socialist forces and the fight against the H Bomb tests and a thermonuclear war.

Supporters of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom circulated the meeting with leaflets calling for cessation of the H Bomb tests. An appeal to build up the anti-H Bomb rally in Queen's Park, May 11 was made from the chair.

The Labor Progressive Party held its own May Day meeting addressed by Tim Buck. SELers attempted to acquaint those going into the meeting with the inspiring developments leading to the regroupment of socialist forces through such activities as the Montreal Socialist Forum. Vicious attempts were made to prevent the distribution of the April VANGUARD containing the report of the first Montreal forum. Hooligans shouting "fascists," "agents of the bosses" jostled and shoved distributors

Canada

A mass rally to urge the stopping of H Bomb tests now has been called for Sunday, May 11 in Queens Park by the Toronto Ad Hoc Committee of the Easter Peace Walkers. This committee is composed of members of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the Quakers and certain prominent churchmen who appeared in the ranks of Easter Sunday paraders with banners reading Stop the H Bomb Tests Now, Canadian Uranium for Peace, Save Our Children; Every Test Kills.

The convention of the 141,000 member Ontario Federation o Home and School Associations, meeting in Hamilton last month tabled a resolution calling for a halt to nuclear tests. The resolution, sponsored by the Port Carling Home and School Association, was considered by the executive to be thrusting the delegates onto unfamiliar ground. More than 300 members of the Faywood Home and School Association in North York, a suburb of Toronto, passed, on April 22, with only one dissenting vote, a resolution urging the federal government to use its influence to stop nuclear bomb tests.

The Saskatchewan government has on its order paper a resolution which calls for the abandonment of all nuclear weapons tests. It was placed there by Dempster Heming (CCF-Moose Jaw).

A resolution from Chrysler local 444 to the UAW Canadian Council meeting in Windsor on the March 22 weekend called for unalterable opposition to the establishment of nuclear and missile bases in Canada by any foreign nation during peacetime. The resolution stirred up a hassle which was settled by a resolution which called for a summit meeting for the purpose of banning tests and missile bases. The Ladies Auxiliaries of the United Fishermen and Allied Workers have called on Ottawa to order the grounding of all US bombers flying over Canada and an end to all atomic and hydrogen testing.

USA

In the United States, so far, the fight to halt nuclear tests has been carried by scientists who have courageously battled the Atomic Energy Commission to tell the

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The Workers Vanguard

#30 - May 1958

23 Toronto—Price 10 cents

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So strong is the opposition among British workers to nuclear tests that the leadership of the Labor Party, who seek to dodge a fight on the issue, were compelled to call an anti-test rally at London's Trafalgar Square, April 13. Twelve thousand people turned out for the demonstration.

truth about the extent of the ha ards, by pacifists, churchmen, li erals and socialists. The unio movement, 18 million strong, h not, as in Britain, Germany an Japan, yet entered into the stru gle. About 700 Walkers for Pea converged on the UN headquarte in New York on April 4 to pe tion for an immediate end to nu lear weapons tests. Their arriva at the UN coincided with the ope ing of the huge British anti-bom march on Aldermaston.

At the same time Nobel pri winning scientist Linus Paulin Socialist Party leader Norma Thomas, British philosopher Ber rand Russell, and Canadian form director of the World Health O ganization Brock Chisholm file suit in Federal District Court Washington to enjoin the AE from conducting any further nu lear tests. Dr. Pauling announce that the group would try to fi similar suits in Great Britain an the USSR.

The Atomic Energy Commissi issued a decree on April 11 barri US citizens from entering a da ger zone which embraces a 2 000 square mile area where it p to conduct a series of giant nu lear tests. The decree was s cially designed to permit the g ernment to carry out its seizure the ketch Golden Rule and its f man crew who were attempting head into the area to risk th lives in a hope to further arou world opinion against the dea blasts.

The Workers Vanguard #30 - May 1958

WHAT NEXT FOR CCF AND LABOR POLITICAL ACTION

What does the decision on political action, unanimously adopted by the 1,600 delegates at the Canadian Labor Congress convention in Winnipeg, really mean? The convention did not endorse the CCF as its political arm. It did not carve out any clear or immediate line of political action for organized labor.

The resolution instructed the executive of the congress to report on a plan for the formation of "an effective alternative political force based on the needs of workers, farmers and similar groups," and to report on this plan a full two years away, at the next congress convention.

Mr. Coldwell, the retiring national leader of the CCF, hails the CLC stand as a "new attempt to bring realism into Canadian political contests." What Coldwell means by "realism" is contained in his approving comment that the "convention did not envisage a political movement on a narrow class basis or one which would be merely a subsidiary of organized labor" and his expression of confidence that the new movement will adopt a philosophy "not narrowly farm, labor or representative of any sectional interest."

It is apparent that Coldwell sees the congress stand as favoring the dissolution of the CCF as a force for independent labor political action and its direction, and the direction of organized labor's political efforts, into a new political formation. One where, as he put it, "the progressive minority" in the Liberal and Conservative parties "will find its proper place."

The editors of the Globe and Mail, quite contrary to Coldwell, see implied in the decision of t congress "a self defined proletariat . . . prepared to set itself against the rest of society." And the terms of the decision as involving "a defined class distinction which hitherto has been absent from the Dominion's social structure."

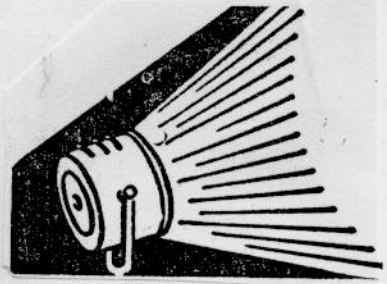
Prominent trade unionists long identified with the CCF played an important role in curtailing discussion and achieving rapid passage of the political action resolution. Two years ago, at the founding convention of the CLC, they moved the motions and made the main speeches that left the direction of political action wide open—effectively silencing CCFers who had wanted to win endorsation of the CCF as labor's political arm. This year's motion was moved by former CCF MLA and steel leader Eamon Park.

Stanley Knowles, defeated CCF member for Winnipeg North, who was handed a post on the Congress executive, declared, "we welcome this." He completely identified himself with Park's statement that it was the greatest political development in Canada in 25 years. He did not, he said, see it as the beginning of the end for the CCF but rather as a real beginning—it was a chance for the CCF to become a vital part of a larger movement.

Douglas Hamilton, secretary-treasurer of the Ontario Federation of Labor, stated; "I support this recommendation because it would seem to be a broadening of political alignments. But anyone who thinks we are now flying under new colors is wrong. We must be careful," he said, "that we don't wreck the political machinery now existing in the CCF party." Congress vice-president William Mahoney also felt it necessary to declare that this move "is no attempt to wreck the CCF. Any such idea is nonsense."

And so everyone voted for the resolution. Labor fakers, company unionists in politics who would like to scuttle the CCF and every last germ of independent labor political action without a trace. Right wing CCFers, demoralized by the March 31 defeat, following the leaders, seeing, wishing for something, anything, in the resolution,

The Workers Vanguard #30 - May 1958



International Notes

These concessions follow on the heels of a massive slow down and folded-arms demonstration of 40,000 in Barcelona which ended on April 5. Only six major plants, closed by government lock-out on March 26, failed to reopen. But even these opened their pay offices to give each worker a full week's wages. This was officially described as a plant management decision to consider the previous week a paid vacation.

This latest upsurge of the Spanish workers saw the government declare martial law in the northern province of Asturias in an attempt to force the miners, after two weeks on strike, back to work. On March 15 Franco announced suspension of three articles of the constitution, thereby sanctioning removal of strikers and their families from areas where they lived, the invasion of private homes without warrant, and the jailing of strikers without legal formalities. But the miners returned to work only after the government agreed to restore the suspended articles.

Cuba

The general strike called for April 9 by Fidel Castro against the Cuban dictator Batista failed. It failed to win the support of the working class. It was doubtful that it would, right up to the day of the strike. On April 7, Homer Bigart reported to the **New York Times** that "A drive through the poorer districts along the waterfront was uneventful. It is in these districts, largely Negro, that Senor Castro has needed much missionary work to convince the laborers that his revolt is not solely a middle-class affair. Whether he has the support of these people is by no means certain."

A couple of years ago Castro's program called for substantial social reforms, including nationalization of the electric and telephone trusts, but recently he has discarded this program in order to reassure the US State Department. In a **Look** magazine interview on Feb. 4 Castro dissociated his movement from nationalization of foreign investments — "Nationalization," he held, "can never be as rewarding as the right kind of private investment, domestic and foreign, aimed at diversifying our economy."

In addition his rejection of the March 13 outlawed Communist Party's proposal for a coalition government might have been taken by many workers to mean that he was not seeking to broaden the basis of the anti-Batista fight. The CP represents approximately 20,000 members out of a population of close to 6 million.

While it is easy to understand why the workers should hesitate to support the 26th of July movement until they find out what it is fighting for, American business interests know what they want. They seek to protect their $800 million invested in Cuba. The **Wall Street Journal** fears that in the course of revolution Castro might not be able to honor his promises that no US interests would be harmed.

569 Yonge Street, Toronto
June 2, 1956

The Socialist Forum
Montreal

Dear Comrades;

This morning we received two more contributions in the mail for inclusion in the pamphlet on the last forum dealing with Socialism and Democracy.

When preparing them for the printer it struck me very forcibly that the contribution from Comrade Mike Patterson was quite different from the Dowson-Gagnon-Cohen contributions. The latter three are obviously speeches prepared for a forum and have a broad general approach to a questiin confronting an audience. While they express divergent views--and it is obvious that to some considerable degree the speakers were aware in advance of some of the points of divergence--nonetheless the ideas are presented in a broad general way and in what could be said to be a non-polemical manner. There is an atmosphere about them, it seems to me, of desiring to reach a genuine exchange of views and to reach some kind of synthesis on what points it may prove possible to do so. Comrade Mike's contribution however is quite different.

First, it is obvious that it is not a contribution to a forum. It does not pretend to deal with any of the broader aspects of the question. It is also obvious that it is not a spontaneous or even semi-spontaneous contribution from the floor. Unlike the other contributions which develop at a leisurely pace, suddenly, here, we are confronted not with a speech but with an essay. It is an essay that has nothing to do with the forum where the other three speeches were given. It has obviously been written after the forum, when the author has had an opportunity to think over the whole matter and to decide to express his view on mainly only one aspect of the question. When one reads it after the other three one asks--why is this here? It doesn't have the merit of expressing a viewpoint which perhaps due to circumstances beyond our control we were unable to have expressed--and it would be a valuable addition to have some prominent CCFer for instance --it is a further development of a view that was expressed at the forum.

Secondly-Comrade Mike's contribution, in my opinion, brings in something that doesn't appear or at least not to the same extent in the other contributions---something that I think we do not desire in the forums, particularly at this stage in their development when we are only really getting the forums underway. It sharply polemicizes, it admonishes, and in my opinion even contains wide polemical exaggerations, sets up straw men , to score a point. For instance the third from last paragraph. We may agree or not agree with the tone and manner of argument of a contributor to the forum--no one is responsible but the contributor himself. But comrade Mike's contribution is not an actual contribution to the forum. And I ask myself why should it be included?

While the particular aspect of the broad subject Socialism and Democracy that comrad Mike deals with is of special interest to myself, I think we should ask ourselves--by its inclusion are we not giving the pamphlet an imbalance? For instance are CCFers with whom we are particularly interested in making contact going to be attracted to the forum idea more so by the emphasis that this addition gives to the pamphlet. It deals almost entirely with the meaning and application of the Leninist doctrine. Of course we can discuss the matter of including or not including comrade Mike's contribution like this only because is not a formal forum contribution. It would not otherwise be possible since we all stand by the principle of non-exclusion.

If the record of the forum is open for one post-forum essay developed along one point of view, why not open it for other contributions? If the Council of Socialist Clubs is to have two contributions--I assume that identification will go under Comrade Patterson's contribution--why not the McGill group, why not the Socialist Educational League--why not ask for contributions from other interested groups or persons--the Socialist Youth Forum and others?

It is my opinion that this pamphlet that the SEL has undertaken to publish should contain, as originally planned, only the contributions made at the forum. It should be a homogeneous whole. On the basis of the three main contributions at hand and I understand that there are some more to come made from the floor, it is a stimulating job and will very effectively carry our purpose across the country.

fraternally

Ross Dowson

Henoler

Friday June 20, 1958

Dear Fred;

I meant to suggest to you when you were in here for our going away party that it would be a very good idea if when you cant get in on a Wednesday or someother day that ~~ik~~ you drop me a note. No doubt there will be times when there is li ttle to report but I think it would be a good idea..for one thing I need that little weekly reminder to keep me on my toes. And once we get into the habit you will no - doubt be suprised how much there is to say. Of course I am relly hoping that you can manage to get into the branch meeting on Wednesday at least every other one.

If my memeory serves me right the 16th was to have been the Hamilton club meeting on nominations. What happened? Were you able to convince Murdoch and co pmany that there proposition of splitting the club on this was not a good one ?.And now we are coming close to the July issue of the paper---can we publish their resolutions that you ~~gave~~ me the copies of.

How did you like the last issue. And by the next week you should be in a position to tell me if there is anything in Hamilton that we must write and up and find space for.

Got our first letter from the tourists. They left Thursday and yesterday we received a note enclosing about 50 ~~of~~ subs that they gathered beofre they got to North Bay. They will be staying in Sudbury for about a week. Ernie was suddenly in a position to go so Harry stayed behind. He wont be getting a job for a while, he will be drawing unemployment insurance..so that he can help out around here. As you know we will have to be moved out of here by August 16th. And I must try to get somr time set aside for the documents for our convention. Shortly after the 16th I will be leaving for Vancouver to come back with the tour--Jerry coming stright back.

We have been getting very good rallies on the sub nights--although last Saturday for the first time, a nice day, we found many persons away. It doesn't look like we will be making our 200 objective. Too many of our best campaigners are not here. Peter is leading everyone --far out ahead.

Tonight we are carrying on our classes--this time I am speaking on Why I am a Maxist. The classes have been very successful. Attendance has been good, strangers outnumbering us everytime. We have a couple of good cntects around.

Lots of things I could tell you but I must put aside the next few hours to get started on my class. Was the bundle I sent you sufficient? What did you do with them. Bunny is now in Montreal and will be coming in shortly. Remind me to let you know when

armest regards

Ross

The Workers Vanguard

Vol. 3, No. 7(31) June, 1958 23 Toronto—Price 5 cents

Many Jobless Desperate Tory Govt Indifferent

May 29—The plague of unemployment that has been sweeping Canada has been halted. The bulk of it was seasonal after all and everything is on the upswing again—the Tories and all the apologists for capitalism will be shouting. From a superficial glance at the latest facts from unemployment insurance offices across the country it would almost appear to be so. From the end of March to the end of April there was a 16 per cent drop in the number of live claims—at the end of April there were 722,252 claims.

But supplementary data released by the bureau of statistics shows how false these figures are, not only as a gauge of how many unemployed there actually are, but also of the circumstances now contributing thousands of them.

The unemployed are not just a statistic, that's for sure. When they have used up all their claims and are not eligible for any emergency claims, when things are at their worst, they even cease to be a statistic. Some 226,870 of these 722,252 unemployed workers with claims show up in the government's figures as unemployed solely for the reason that they are receiving emergency seasonal payments. If it were not for the emergency benefits they would not appear to be unemployed at all. This category of worker, unemployed, unemployed for a long time, all claims used up, all emergency benefits exhausted, is increasing at a rapid rate. How many tens of thousands —nobody knows.

The total of 722,252 on the unemployment insurance files is, of course, almost double the 373,609 on file at the end of April last year. It is the highest for any April since the Thirties. While much of the decrease is accounted for by persons who now have no claims, some of it is no doubt accounted for by increased employment in farming and construction.

But this tiny thinning out of the massive ranks of unemployed stretching across the country is nothing to what Diefenbaker's Progressive Conservatives promised would come with the Spring; then the Summer. The Canadian economy is obviously not suffering from just seasonal unemployment but is stricken with chronic unemployment—deeply lodged in its system.

The Tory government, spilling over to both sides of the commons, has been silent on this crucial question. The grandiloquent speech from the throne, which ranged over a whole host of matters, didn't so much as mention either unemployment or the soaring cost of living. Its only admission of awareness of the alarming situation, a tacit admission, was in the announcement of the extension of seasonal benefits payable under the Unemployment Insurance Act for a further six weeks.

And what an admission this is—that we have January's unemployment in the month of June. For the emergency benefits were designed to meet emergencies heretofore suffered only in the winter months. That this measure in no way provides employment, but is only a temporary relief measure, is a further admission of government bankruptcy.

Some 200,000 whose payments would have stopped on May 15 will continue to draw up to $30 a week for periods up to six weeks. And what then? Several hundred thousands more whose benefits have run out and who have not been regularly employed over the last two years will get no relief from this extension. As they use up their last reserves the government has callously left them no place to turn but to the probing mercies of municipal relief authorities.

Thousands are now in grave dif-

See UNEMPLOYED—page 2

Figures Don't Lie

COST OF LIVING

May 5—Cost of living index rocketed up to an all-time high of 125.2 in April. Biggest jump was in the food index which soared to the highest yet—123.4. This cut the amount of fresh pork, eggs, bread, fresh fruit and vegetables that housewives got for their food dollar. Medical and dental services, clothes and furniture also rose in price.

WAGES

May 29—Wages, according to the government's payroll index, which includes those of all salaried persons from clerks to executives, inched up from the March 1st 185 figure to 185.1 on April 1st.

PROFITS

Stock and bond holders were in good spirits as they prepared to come north from their winter resorts in the West Indies, Florida and the Riviera. Dividend payments for the month of April broke through the stratosphere to register over 56½ million dollars, the highest yet for any April. Their profits were almost half a million higher than April, 1957 and 11½ million higher than April, 1956.

FISCAL CRISIS--NATO AID DE GAULLE COUP

Dictatorship strode to power attired in all the trappings of republican legality; fascism advanced through the channels of parliamentary democracy; sedition, subversion, treason and insurrection were installed in office when Charles de Gaulle assumed the premiership of France.

Charles De Gaulle

Canada's Prime Minister Diefenbaker, at the first opportunity that presented itself, in a statement to the house on June 3rd, welcomed the de Gaullist dictatorship. He welcomed it as a solution of France's "parliamentary crisis" and expressed the hope that France would gain "political stability."

What Diefenbaker welcomed as a solution to "parliamentary crisis" was a body blow to parliamentary democracy. What he saw as a move to "political stability" was the march to a police state — the fruit of the US state department and its hangers-on's policies, of ever since the end of World War II seeking to stabilize a bankrupt French capitalism.

Globe and Mail correspondent George Bain graphically described the scene the day before de Gaulle's investiture.

Saturday night the crowds on the Champs Elysees "the police, moving blackly among them, watching, questioning, every now and then cutting two or three young men out of the crowd and hustling them off to the vans. The vans for the purpose stood in lines down the middle of the great avenue. Many more vans filled with black helmeted police of the Campagnie Republicaine Securite stood in convoys at points on the access road which flanks the main roadway."

Detailing their combat equipment and their method of patrolling eight or more abreast, Bain characterizes them as "police of the sort one thinks of with the term 'police state'."

PARLIAMENT COLLAPSED

When de Gaulle appeared before a quaking National Assembly on June 1st to force through a formal vote of investiture and extort dictatorial powers allowing him to rule by decree for six months and draft a new constitution which he can submit directly to a plebiscite, the traditional parliamentary rule of French capitalism, tottering in crisis for months, had collapsed.

As de Gaulle held a pistol to the head of the Fourth Republic there was scarcely a protest from the ranks of the capitalist parties. French parliamentary democracy was an empty shell.

General Salan, at the head of a military junta treasonously seized control of Algeria. The senior naval commander in the Mediterranean, Admiral Auboyneau, after consultation with NATO Supreme Allied Commander General Norstad, seditiously took his fleet over to the rebels. General Massu's fascistic paratroopers seized Corsica, declared to be in a state of revolt by the Parisian government, and General Salan appointed a paratrooper in command of the island.

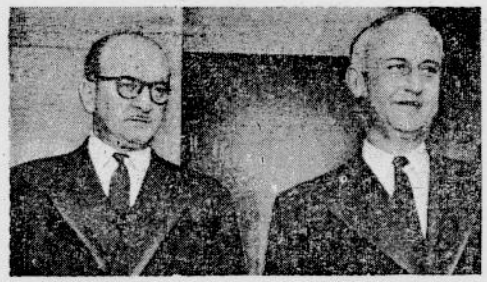
DE GAULLE BACKED REBELS

De Gaulle himself, when he ominously announced that he had already started to establish a "republican government," expressed complete confidence in the military commanders in the Mediterranean and North Africa. He is now pulling the "hot heads" into line as he seeks to build a base under his regime.

Behind the fall of 20 governments in the past 12 years lies the paralysis of the French ruling class, confronted by a decayed home economy and the loss of the loot it used to rake in from its colonial domains; and the failure of the massive working class parties to lead the country forward to a workers' France.

Ever since the war, French capitalism has been sustained on rations handed out by the NATO al-

See FRANCE—page 2



GUY MOLLET PIERRE PFLIMLIN

Ex-Premier Pflimlin and "socialist" Guy Mollet were rewarded for opening the way for de Gaulle's coup with posts in his advisory "cabinet."

PROGRAM ON UNEMPLOYMENT

—**Unemployment compensation for the entire period of unemployment.** To prevent the destruction of our hard-won standard of living, benefits must be paid equal to the wage received when employed.

—**Trade union organization of the unemployed.** Unionists who become unemployed should retain full rights of union membership. The union movement should organize unions for unorganized workers who become unemployed. The unemployed need the organized strength of the union movement behind them. The unions must not let the unemployed be used by the corporations as a lever against union conditions—the unions must be kept sensitive to the needs of their unemployed members.

—**A 30 hour week at 40 hours pay.** Amend both provincial and federal labor legislation to enact a 40-hour legal work week. All unions should fight for the shorter work week in coming contract negotiations.

—**A vast program of public works,** hospitals, schools, subsidized housing, etc., at trade union rates of pay.

—**Cut taxes**—no taxes on an annual income of $5,000 or less. The prime minister told a labor delegation that there weren't funds for both tax cuts and welfare, but by March 31 over 400 million dollars was spent on the Arrow aircraft alone.

—**A debt meratorium for the unemployed.** No foreclosures on homes, autos, appliances. No evictions for overdue rent.

Time For Action Against Murderous H Bomb Tests

While opposition to the H Bomb blasts that are being set off in the South Pacific continues to mount throughout Europe, Africa and Asia, silence pervades the North American continent. Scientists have courageously ripped through the tissue of lies fabricated by the Atomic Energy Commission to make out that the tests are quite harmless. Scatterings of pacifists, religious groups, and socialists, have attempted to bring the issue to the fore and to mobilize public opinion into an effective force to block further tests. But the people, the great masses of the people of Canada and the United States, are silent.

The Canadian Labor Congress, gathered in convention last month, passed a resolution which among other things called for the cessation of H Bomb tests. Since then nothing has been done to rally its one and a quarter million members into effective action

See ACTION AGAINST—page 3

REGROUPMENT MOVES FORWARD

By BRUCE FERGUSON

On May 9, the Montreal Socialist Forum held its second gathering since its inception. Between 70 and 80 people attended the wide-open discussion on CANADIAN DEMOCRACY AND THE STRUGGLE FOR SOCIALISM, a topic of vital importance in the regroupment of socialist forces in Canada.

Representatives of diverse political viewpoints spoke from the platform. Among the participants were representatives of the Montreal Council of Socialist Clubs, the Socialist Educational League, independent socialists, and the student and youth movements in Montreal.

The first speaker, Bruce Batten, presented a contribution from Ross Dowson, secretary-treasurer of the SEL, who at the last moment was unable to attend.

Dowson highlighted the importance of the subject by noting that capitalist propagandists have made the slander that socialism is totalitarian and anti-democratic, one of their most important weapons

See 2nd MONTREAL—page 4

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Action Against Bomb Tests

(Continued from page 1)

in support of this resolution. The record was made and that is about all.

The national council of the CCF, in its draft program of last January, proposed that "Canada should give leadership in working towards . . . cessation of all nuclear tests." But it was silent on this issue all during the recent federal election contest and remains silent in the current session of the house. The CCF tops have given no leadership, have done nothing to mobilize the forces of the CCF, not to speak of the people of Canada, to compel the government to work towards cessation of the tests.

That there is grave danger to humanity is undeniable. That it is urgent that the tests be stopped is unchallengeable. Where reason fails to prevail then the organized might of the people must be brought into play. It is obvious that it is not enough now to make the record. It is necessary to act. There is not a day to be lost.

Every union local, every CCF club, must take a clear and unmistakable stand on this question. Discussions must be held, motions passed, plans to intervene laid out. A massive mobilization of the Canadian people must be brought to bear against the Diefenbaker government and the thermonuclear test program of its British and US allies. The pressures tearing at their NATO military alliance make MacMillan and Dulles particularly sensitive to their relations with Canada. Besides, the Canadian people are not without the means to directly intervene to prevent continued H Bomb tests. Canadian uranium is an essential element in the US and British tests program. Canadian labor can prevent its shipment to any power that continues testings.

A portion of an anti-H Bomb demonstration of some 300 who escaped the rain to listen to speakers in Toronto's Queens Park bandstand on May 11. The demonstration was organized by an interdenominational Protestant church group and the Fellowship of Reconciliation. The May issue of VANGUARD, devoted to advocating cessation of nuclear tests, was enthusiastically received.

Subsequent attempts to get the Toronto Conference of the United Church of Canada to hold a mass rally against the tests were defeated. Some ministers termed the idea of a demonstration "cheap" and "undignified." Others such as Rev. Hart characterized nuclear weapons "as instruments of peace."

Dr. Crossley Hunter challenged the "conference does not seem to be aware of the unspeakable seriousness of the matter." Sir James Chadwick, he said, called "nuclear power 'planet destroying power'." Rev. Gordon Weir said the substitute all-night prayer vigil was not enough. He said that he was willing to go with his family into the fall-out areas as a protest. He called for "protesting with our lives." The proposal for a demonstration failed to receive the necessary two-thirds majority.

The London Conference of the United Church took the advice of the Rev. Carl Crewe not to publish or distribute its stand of opposition to nuclear weapon testing as it would "follow too closely the tactics of," what he called, "subversive elements who are calling for the end of testing . . ."

The Workers Vanguard

#31 - JU 1958

delegates to CCF National Convention

July 22/58

Dear ~~Reid~~

Here are a few undigested comments that if I were with you in your discussion on our conduct at the convention that I would like to put forward and exchange with you.

It is unfortunate that we do not have a copy of the resolutions. But the essence of the most important from the point of view of our future work has been made know in the Commnowealth. The national council is presenting a resolution on the CLC political action decision. The resolution is asking that the convention welcome the CLC resolution and instruct the council and national executive to enter into discussions with the CLC and report back to the next regular or special convention of the CCF.

There are elements in the CCF, who present themselves as left wingers who if I am not mistaken will oppose this resolution. The opposition from our experience will take on the form of arguing that the CLC should join our federated CCF party, let them come to us--the door has always been open. It will also argue that the label CCF be maintained. It will fight against the resolution in the name of defending the socialist program of the party --after all at the BC convention the left got some hat tipping to the Regina Manifesto inserted into a resolution.

There is no doubt in my mind that we must support the national council resolution --but at the same time we must utilize the situation in so far as we are able to give it a left content and to appeal to the best of the left

Elmer Roper in his address to the recent Alta convention talks about the whole new arena that the new farmer labor party will open up to CCFers to work in. With the developing ecomomic crisis in Canada and the developing international crisis confronting the west this labor party which is now in the cards will really and truly open up to us. The CCF leadership dominates the party. They have made their position clear--tney are dumping the CCF. Nothing is going to sustain the CCF--there are no forces that are in a position to block the leadersnip for the leadership the CCF is through. For us too it is also through-there is no longer any viable left current in the CCF--the left that is in the CCF has no perspective. We have only been able to support the CCF as the instrument of indepenanet labor political action in this country. It is already appearing less and less as this factor--in Vancouver the trade unions are taking over the municipal field and we will see the same thing here in Toronto this Fall. within the next year or so the CCF brass will have worked out with the trade union brass some new set up. As things now look it will probably mean the liquidation of the CCF into a new formation...not federation--with the CCF playing the role of some kind of Fabian educational association.

I dont think we should figut for any baraining points in the summit conferences, in so far as the CCF as such is concerend. I cannot see that we would be interested in being in a CCF Fabian body federated to the mass labor party. We want to be in the mass labor party itself--in the unions and their Political educational committees and in whatever riding forms they set up we want this labor party to be broad and all inclusive, to be a class party. to encompass the class. The socialistd will work in the labor party but they would not be able to do so through the CCF. Those who would fight for the CCF to be maintained and federated to the labor party are the very forces that

we will have to fight against. The "socialist" opposition to the national council resolution is by and large composed of sectarians, who have no concept of the revolutionary, the socialist program. And if the CCF retained its identity as part of a federated labor party it would be the center of opposition to the socialist, the revolutionary program.

Of course there is another important matter that we are interested besied the labor party which is a little ways away and that is the regroup ment of the socialists in Canada. This is necessary so that they can play a effective role in the new labor party. The debate over the national coun cil resolution and its repercussions through the constituency organizations which still exist to some degree in BC may well provide us with an opportun ity to pose the issue of socialist regroupment. Of course I do not mean directly. But the decision taken at the convention will pose the whole question what are the socialist to do. we should participate in the debate on the council resolution as socialists and those who want to be part of the big process. It is not excluded that the opponents of the resolution will caucus--we should attend the caucus in order to put forward our views. The socialists have to find one another but not through a CCF --I think that it should be possible to raise the issue of the regrou ment of the socialists not only in the CCF but with the socialists outside the CCF--with the Gagnon's, the Salsberg's the Young's, the SEL's. For our part the LPP too but at this stage there would be no purpose raising this- it would defeat our purpose

It is this whole question, the ntl council's resolution and the degate around it that compels us not to get involved in resolutions appealing the movement to get back to the Regina Mnaifesto but to identify ourselves with resolutions committing the CCF to fight for legislation of the 40 hour week which the Sask govt defeated, which i did not see mentioned in the BC CCF convention or the Alta convention resolutions. with the national council resolution the question of the future program of the CCF fades away. At any rate these generalities mean nothing when the left is not in a position to apply the generalities--when the right is left to write up the prgram. At best they only serve as a pulling togtehr of leftists who unfortunately by and large as far as I can see are hoplessly sectarian having no concept of a transitional program. we are interested in fighting for res- olutions calling for Immediate withdrawal of US forces from the Middle East pf opposing commitment of Canadian forces to the middle East under the mask of the UN, opposing the equipment of Canadian armed forces with Atom weapons in supporting 30 for 40 etc ,etc.meaning a national campaign calling for the cessation of the H Bomb tests. There is some merit is attempting to win the CCF convention to these positions for this lays the foundations of the prog- ram of the new movement in the most favorable way. There is also the possibility that we may make some valuable contacts.

In my opinion the regroupment of socialist forces in Canada is the big issue and we should be alert to whatever possibilities reside in thisccon- vention

I hope that you are able to get together a couple of times in the pro cess of the convention and before leaving that you are able to make an eval uation of the whole thing. Bruce and Virginia will need your aid in pulling togtehr material for the August issue of the paper

fraternally

ross Dowson

July 22, 1958

Dear Bruce and Bunny;

This is not an answer to your long and informative letter but a few comments on some pressing matters

we had our editorial board meeting last night and have decided that we want to devote about 10 pages to the CCF national convention. A very important convention that ~~with~~ effective reporting on will do much to put the Vanguard on the map. Of course we would not want one large article but at least two and perhaps three or four. Now it is best that you ~~and~~ assume responsibility for the articles as all the other comrades are not experienced writes and besides are not as developed politically. But of course you will have to assign our various delegates responsibility to take copious notes on the various sessions as I see you will be unable to attend other than the evening sessions and perhaps one day. It would be go good if you can have several preliminary discussions with the Vancouver comrades so that we know how to judge their reports and so that they will have an idea as to what we think is important. You will be like a regular city desk with a whole battery of on the spot reporters--imposing eh-what.

No doubt Peter is already in touch with you so that you know what arrangements he has made for shelter. That is a very good proposal to get the Vancouver comrades in touch with Gagnon. You will have to be careful about meeting them around the national convention. Perhaps not Harold but probably Winnie will be very nervous . They are really deep out there in Vancouver. The possibilities for re-groupment are greater in Vancouver than perhaps anywhere else in the world--after all we have Malcolm Bruce who is on very friendly personal and political terms with Fergus McKean. When out there two years ago we recruited a former leading trande union activist who had been in the CP and later in the LPP but I have heard no thing more about him--probably he wasn't held onto. As you know the whole line in BC is get into the CCF, work in the CCF. This line cuts out all possibility of working on the LPP and its many dissidents. Not only have we Malcolm but we have other dissidents who make the regroupment appeal somewhat attractive, and broader than us---the Young group. One of the Young group dropped in here last week--his name is Howard--a man of about 55 who you know no doubt Bruce. He is quite friendly to us--apparently on his vacation tour to the East he dropped in on all the SWP headquarters We have no line of approach to the Young group from my few words with him but "~~just~~ "get back into the CCF." We dont need to getbinto any discussuon as to the viability of the Young group, its composition etc etc but it has been putting out a monthly bulletin on a regular basis-Young is a well known figure, Weaver too and you cannot talk seriously to socialist who hav been In and around the CCF in BC without talking about Young and his assoc iates. Strange to say Malcolm wrote in their last issue--althouhg for doing so previously almost lost him his membership in the CCF. Yes, I think you discussions with Vancouver can be very helpful towards making our discuss ions out there only a month away more fruitful.

But to get to the main reason for this letter--here are a few ideas that I would like you to take into consideration in your pre-con-ve ntion discussionscwith the comrades--on how I think we should conduct ourselves.

(ends)

July 25, 1958

Dear Bruce and Bunny;

Before I get lost in the paper and we get up to our necks in moving all our accumulated goods I had better drop you this short note.

Of course we first want the material--the ten pages of copy on the CCF national convention. We are getting a good picture of Cameron--I gather he took a good stand on the Middle East

But after that it would be a good idea if you got to work on a report and evaluation of the work in Montreal--primarily the Montreal Socialist Forum and the Council of Socialist Clubs. It would be very good if you could make a report, evaluation and outline our perspective of work for our substitute for a convention that we will be holding at the Vancouver end of the tour. After all we aren't just Vancouver and Toronto any more. In fact I think your contribution can be a really valuable contribution in our efforts to get the Vancouver comrades to move out in what is no doubt in my mind the most importnt field in Vancouver--not the CCF clubs but regroupment I dont see why in your general summing up in this three or four page document you dont treat the matter generally and discuss in general the possibo ilities elsehwere for instance in Vancouver--the Young group, the ins we already have with Maclom and our friendship with Fergus McKean etc etc.

You will have to get to work on it right away as we will want to have it mimeographed and out in the mails before August 15th.

Waiting for a phone call about a -lace we have our eye on---on Yonge right near Front next door to The Old Favorites Bookstore. Also have an eye on a house on Bay just up from the North-West corner of Gerrard. If we get the word on Yonge I think we will take it. As a store it is terrific although we will have no garantee of tenancy--shall we take the gamble--yes I say. The house would be good but it would cut our income and I dont think the league is strong enough yet. You will be hearing all about it.

warmest regards

Ross

July 28, 1958

Henri Gagnon
Montreal

Dear comrade Henri;

I happened to be talking with Bruce over the telephone with regards to the CCF National Convention on Friday noght and in passing he asked me what happened to Mike's contribution to the pamphlet on the second forum--why didn't it appear?

also

This comment suprised me no end and just in case you should be wonder ing I am hastening to send you this letter.

I have here a letter dated June 12 signed by J Godin on behalf of the Quebec Socialist Forum ---it reads "In reply to your letter June 2nd we wish to advise you that our committee met two days ago and agreed to leave out Mike Patterson's contribution from the present review."

Now I did get a letter from Bruce dated several days later in which he said there was a meeting of four. He calls is a "Comm" meeting and describes it as "rump" presumably because it numbered only four. I gahter my letter was raised there but it was decided to do nothing about it. Bunny was here very shortly after and I told here in passing to ask Bruce what this gathering was that he commented on, that I had got the Godin letter and assumed that this was the official decision of the committee involved and if perchance it happened to be otherwise would she let me know immediately as we were going to press with the pamphlet. She never wrote me about this and I quite logically assumed that I was correct in thinking that the Godin letter was to be my guide. From Bruce's reaction during my phone conversation with him he appears to think otherwise.

I want to assure you Henri that had I really the slightest inkling th that I was to include Mike's contribution I would have done so, even tho gh I wrote your comrades that I did not think that it should be included The SEL and myself conducts itself with the highest socialist integrity

fraternally

Ross Dowson

The Workers Vanguard #32-July 1958

Opposes H Bomb Tests

The following resolution was passed by the Hamilton East CCF Association at a meeting called late in May to consider policy statements to be submitted to the National CCF convention to be held in Montreal this month. A resolution calling upon the movement to identify itself with the trade union struggle for a 30-hour work week for 40 hours pay to meet the problem of unemployment was also passed. Another urging the dumping of the "make capitalism work" Winnipeg Manifesto and a return to the socialist Regina Manifesto was lost by one vote.

Whereas—The present Nuclear Armament race now being carried on by the two great powers has created the most menacing situation ever faced by mankind, and

Whereas—The testing of these weapons is endangering the health of this and future generations, and

Whereas—It is obvious that weapons of this magnitude cannot be safely entrusted to any individuals or nations, and therefore the abolition of these weapons must be the primary task of the human race,

Therefore be it resolved that—The CCF take a positive stand against the building of nuclear armaments, thereby joining hands with socialist parties throughout the world who are already fighting a vigorous campaign against the trend towards nuclear suicide, and

Be it further resolved that—The CCF demand the following steps be taken:

1. The immediate halting of all nuclear bomb tests,
2. Prohibition of foreign planes carrying nuclear bombs over Canadian territory,
3. An embargo against the export of uranium to any nation continuing nuclear bomb tests,
4. Oppose the issuance of nuclear weapons to any nation not now possessing them,
5. Call an International Conference for the purpose of disengaging the smaller nations now possessing nuclear weapons as the prelude to the disarmament negotiations between the major powers.

The Workers Vanguard

#32-July 1958

B.C. CCF Urges Break from NATO For Return To Socialist Policies

By J. SINCLAIR

Under the impact of Canada's deepening economic crisis and developments on the international arena, the delegates to the 25th annual convention of the BC-Yukon CCF declared that the CCF should cease its support of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization military alliance and that the party should turn back from the "make capitalism work" policies formally adopted two years ago at Winnipeg and re-orient itself in the direction of socialism.

On many occasions the delegates broke through the mechanical and procedural restraints with which the stultified leadership endeavored to derail and obscure the central issues of the day. To preserve any semblance of prestige or control the provincial leadership had to bow before them, to identify itself with left sentiments even as it struggled to thwart them.

On the opening day the convention—the first widely representative CCF body to meet since the Canadian Congress of Labor rally of this spring—discussed the political action resolution adopted by that body. Joe Morris of the Woodworkers, and vice-president of the Canadian Labor Congress, gave a public address that did little more than repeat the broad implications and significance of this move. The convention then went into closed session for a question and answer discussion with Morris and other functionaries of the BC Federation of Labor.

From discussions with delegates one gets the impression that there is considerable uneasiness over the role of the CCF, if any, in the projected broad organization. Morris is alleged to have said in reply to a question; ". . . that a federated structure had been considered and rejected because a federated structure is weak and ineffective . . ." Who rejected it and what group was considering it was not made clear, nor was any real indication given of the structural form of the new organization. However, it is obvious that some group, clique or faction composed of CCF and trade union elements have been masterminding a scheme and have a working idea of the form and type of organization they would like to see moulded — or more precisely, encasing the Canadian workers. It is equally obvious that the masterminds do not envisage the CCF or for that matter any other group, having organizational recognition or function in the new set-up.

Since the working people in many areas in BC are organized in the Mine Mill and Smelter Workers Union, the Fishermen's Union, and other unions proscribed by the trade union bureaucracy and expelled from the ranks of the united and central bodies of the trade union movement, one would only expect that their status in the projected farmer-labor party would come up. It is doubtful if a labor government could get elected without their support. It is reported that the CLC representatives told the convention that there would be no room in the new party for the proscribed unions.

Subsequently the executive presented a motion demanding the right to appoint from their ranks a commission to discuss and negotiate terms with the trade union bureaucrats. It was amended over the opposition of the leadership, to establish the authority of the convention to elect three of the members of the commission.

Almost every resolution offered by the official convention committee was amended and changed more to the liking of the rank and file. The leadership and its policies were subjected to a searching criticism and the chair was challenged and its ruling upset on several occasions. The mood of the convention was clearly demonstrated in the treatment accorded a special executive resolution, taking up the discussion on the Winnipeg Declaration adjourned at last year's convention, and covering over the many resolutions forwarded by the clubs that called, in one form or another, for a return to the Regina Manifesto.

An amendment from the floor, moved by David Stupich of Nanaimo, deleted the key derailing second paragraph and substituted for it; "This convention believes that the way to prepare for the next such statement is by disavow-

CMA AIM-TO BLOCK REAL HEALTH PLAN

The new federal provincial contributory hospital plan is no thin-edged wedge designed to introduce a national health plan so badly needed by the Canadian people. Minister of Health Monteith assured the Canadian Medical Association's annual convention in Halifax last month that it is merely "what its name implies—a measure for the provision of basic hospital care, no more, no less."

But the CMA is leaving nothing to chance. Their economics committee chairman, Dr. R. K. Thomson, said that they recognize the possibility of a change in government. Under the guise of defending the interests of the public whose will they give warning they intend to thwart, but in reality in defence of their own vested interests, they passed a resolution. It asked all doctors to recognize the CMA as the negotiating body of the profession and to prepare adequate contracts and delineate standards before entering into agreements. The CMA has considerable powers to force recalcitrant doctors into line.

→p.2

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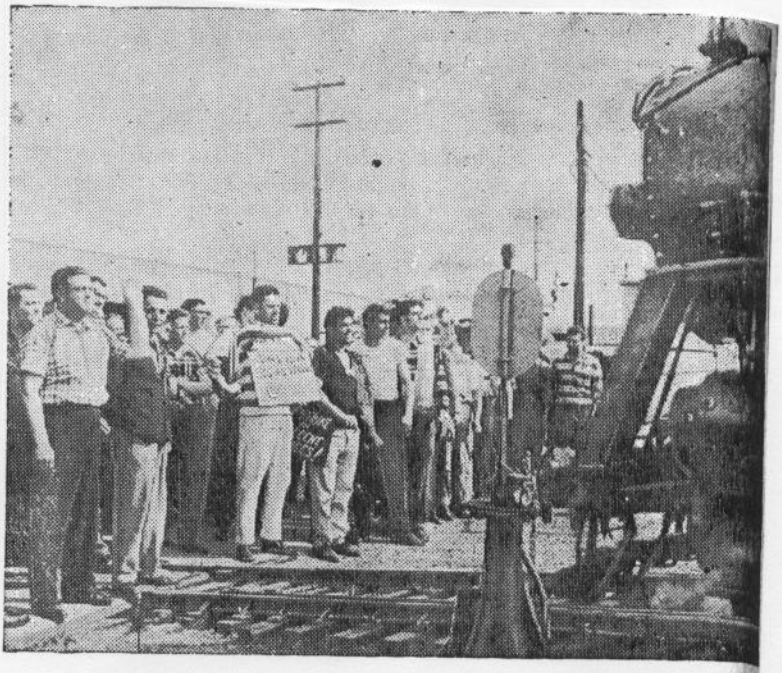
ing and rejecting any concept or declaration that a modified and controlled capitalism is the ultimate goal of the CCF . . . that we once again proclaim . . . 'the CCF will not rest content until capitalism has been eradicated and the full program of socialist planning has been instituted and our ideals achieved'." Overriding all opposition, the opposition of Frank Mackenzie, MacDonald and MacInnis, the amendment was passed with a substantial majority.

Despite the many resolutions forwarded by clubs calling for repudiation of the NATO war alliance, ending the H Bomb tests, etc., the omnibus resolution presented to the convention failed to take a clear cut stand on NATO. An amendment presented by George Moreland that "CCF policy shall be withdrawal from NATO and support for a policy of collective security through the United Nations" was carried.

Urging that the CCF repudiate its present parliamentary position, former MP Colin Cameron charged that NATO was a "bar to the reunification of Germany and the major stumbling block to settlement in Europe." Further attempts to amend the resolution such as those made by Reg Bullock of North Vancouver who attacked the proposition that the funds saved from curtailed armament expenditures be transferred to the imperialist dominated UN, particularly while there is mass unemployment in this country, failed.

Resolution 15 urging a moratorium on mortgage debts for unemployed home owners, despite opposition, was shoved off the floor onto the incoming executive. The resolution calling for emergency action on unemployment failed to outline any immediate demands to meet the problem.

The three elected by the convention to the commission to discuss CCF-TU relations were the parliamentary leader and two of the most outspoken opponents of the elective principle. Right-Winger Grace MacInnis defeated her sole opponent Margaret Erickson for president by a vote of 89 to 47. Aside from Colin Cameron who broke through for the first time in several years to get a post on the executive by defeating Gra McNeil as first vice-president a vote of 78 to 61, the politic composition of the new executi is little different from the old. B the machine which has domina the BC section of the CCF for many years has been sever jolted.



Hamilton, July 3—Strikers and sympathizers flooded over the railway tracks and blocked this CNR train from entering the strike-bound Dominion Glass plant at Hamilton, Ont.

Although some train crews have refused, both the CNR and CPR bosses are sending trains across the picket lines. Under the rotten law passed by the Liberals in 1956, these crews are indefinitely suspended and railroad officials take the trains in and out of the plant. Organized truckers though, thanks to the Teamsters Union, refuse to cross the picket lines.

Talking to the picketers, one feels the seriousness of these men and women in their determination to win this strike. One striker said, "We just can't go back in without winning—the company's attitude and threats make it impossible." Another went on to say, "Why, if we quit now, the next contract they would want us to work for a dollar an hour."

On strike for nearly two months, the members of Local 203, United Glass and Ceramic Workers, packed their hall last Saturday afternoon and refused to accept the company's offer to settle for $75.00 on the $195.00 retroactive pay owing to the workers, and for a mere 1 cent an hour towards the health plan. Out of over 800 present only three expressed any desire to accept the offer. The strikers, seeking to bring their wages into line with average rates paid in Hamilton's industries, are asking for 25 cents an hour pay boost, along with job classifications, health plan and two extra holidays with pay.

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Second Trans-Canada Tour Scores Great Successes

As the second Vanguard across-Canada tour pushed into Ontario's northern mining area on the way to the West Coast, our four militant campaigners marked up well over 900 new subscriptions to the paper. The main purpose of the tour, to stimulate the left on a national scale in the direction of the re-armament and regroupment of its forces through untrammeled discussion, is meeting with great success. The news of the important developments in the direction of the regroupment of socialists in the United States, Britain, and in particular here in Montreal around the Socialist Forum, is meeting a warm response. Several experienced and influential working class activists expressed their intentions to investigate the possibilities in their areas in the net period.

Through Western Ontario over as far as Windsor and Sarnia, in Sudbury over to Sault Ste. Marie, Elliot Lake and Blind River, scores of advanced workers, both former and present activists in the CCF and the Labor Progressive Party, and hundreds of workers as yet totally unacquainted with socialist ideas but disturbed by the rising unemployment, were contacted. The VANGUARD was well received and there were valuable discussions and exchanges of ideas. Many bought other literature that our campaigners have with them to aid them in their efforts to block the H-Bomb war drive and establish a socialist Canada.

Attempts were made in Sarnia to prejudice the community against our campaigners through a scare broadcast over the local radio station. The Soo police and Algoma's company police tried to hamper us in our work. At Sudbury a priest took it upon himself to denounce the Vanguard from the pulpit, but without great effect.

Meanwhile a subscription campaign in Toronto has won almost 100 new readers and plans are underway to extend the Vanguard's circulation both in Hamilton and in Montreal.

The Socialist Educational League's Toronto Friday night summer classes have been the most successful yet conducted. Among the topics discussed so far have been; Is there a class structure in Canadian society and a class struggle; France and the Gaullist danger; Is the Marxist theory of crisis valid today; The role of the individual in history. The July 18th discussion promises to be exceptionally stimulating. An active pacifist along with a member of the SEL will discuss SOCIALISM THROUGH PACIFISM. The fraternal atmosphere and the wide open floor has made the Toronto Friday class held at 569 Yonge Street very attractive.

August 1, 1958

J Godin
Montreal

Dear Comrade Godin;

Thanks very much for your kind words about the pamphlet.

W did not know that you wanted an invitation to appear in the review asking for contributions to the next one. We followed your instructions to the letter except for the splitting of part of the introduction and placing part of it on the back page along with the addresses where copies could be obtained The whole introduction would not fit on ~~xxxxxx~~ the one page on the basis of the size of the format we had chosen. A good pocket fitting size dont you think?

It would be a good idea if we were to have some addresses in other Canadian points where the reveiw could be obtained. When in BC towards the later part of this month I will be seeing Rodney Young and his group who publish PRESS and other persons in an attempt to promote a forum in that city. We are working on another angle here in Toronto which may jell things here. I will let you know about this as soon as we get further information

The first hundred copies that we mailed you equares what we owe on the first review according to our figuring. I am enclosing the bill for the 200 that we mailed a couple of days ago. Seven for a dollar is the actual cost of production and we hope that this reasonable price will encourage persons interested to pick up a dollars worth either for distribution or re-sale. About 60 copies of the pamphlet have been mailed free to Salsberg, Binder, Penner and other persons we think would be interested. So far we have received no response from any of them and will not be able to follow this up for the next few weeks because of the pressure of other work.

Thanks for the leaflts that the Council put out. We will be mentioning them in the coming issue of the VANGUARD

fraternally

Ross Dowson

We managed to get the pamphlet in the hands of our comrades who are now on a national tour by the time they got to Kenora. They should be able to put it to good use in the Winnipeg area and all other points ahead of them on their way West

THE TORONTO LABOR BOOKSTORE
569 Yonge Street
Toronto, Ont.

August 7th 1958

George Beckford
368 Notre Dame
Winnipeg 2, Man.

Dear Friend;

Pleased to receive your enquiry about the Guerin book Negroes on the March. Unfortunatley right now we have only two copies of this book in stock. They are both cloth bound and sell at $2.00 a peice. There was a paperbound edition that was considerably cheaper. We have an order with the publishers in England for a couple of dozen copies, However it is possible that it is now out of print. My recommendation would be that you should pick up the two copies we have here on hand however if you are not in a position to do so we will know within a few weeks what the score is o the paperbound edition and if they are available I think we could pass the along at about $1.00 a copy.

Guerin is an excellent writer -- one of the top Marxist popular writers. Too bad more of his books such as FASCISM AND BIG BUSINESS, THE FRENCH REVOLUTION, etc are not in print. Are you interested in the Negro question in particular? We have a considerable amount of pamphlet material on different aspects of this question and also several books of special interest. Here are a few titles

Black Bourgeoisie--Frazer----$5.25
Capitalism and Slavery--Eric Williams----$4.50
The Strange Career of Jim Crow--1.50
The Suppression of the African Salve Trade to the US--4.00
this book is by W.E.B. Dubois--who is one of the worlds great scholars and the founder of the NAACP. His book Black Reconstruction is a most important one and we would be pleased to get it for you

Jim Crow Murder and Mr and Mrs Harry T. Moore--Breitman--.10
The Struggle for Negro Equality--Saunder & Parker--10
A Practical Program to Kill Jim Crow--Jackson---.25
Desegregation-Labor's stake in the fight for Negro Equality-10

I have taken to the trouble to list these items bacuase we seldom cover them all in our more general list. We will be sending you a book lis shortly.

We would be pleased to answer any other enquiries that you send our way.

fraternally

Ross Dowson

The Workers Vanguard

CCFers - SEL DISCUSS VIEWS IN WINNIPEG

WINNIPEG—No matter what organization they may belong to at the moment, all socialists must fight for socialism. But what is the socialist viewpoint and what kind of leadership must be developed in order to establish a socialist Canada in a socialist world? This requires a free and fraternal exchange of views through forums, discussion bulletins, etc., leading to the regroupment of socialists, said Jerry Houle to a Winnipeg audience.

The meeting was arranged by a group of interested young CCFers on Wednesday night, July 30, at the CCF Osborne Hall. More than a score turned out to hear Ernest Tate and Jerry Houle who were passing through with two other members of the Socialist Educational League on a national tour.

Tate opened the meeting with some comments on the SEL. He said that it was formed by the CCF leadership's right wing policies and disciplinary actions against some socialist opponents four years ago. In the intervening years the SEL has published the fastest growing socialist paper in Canada, **The Workers Vanguard**, held regular forums in Toronto and is now branching out into other areas. It contested several elections, including its challenge of Sidney Smith, now the Tory government's foreign minister, in the Hastings-Frontenac by-election, and Transport Minister George Hees in Broadview last federal election.

The SEL is for a new, a socialist society, and not for the reform of the old war-and-depression-breeding capitalist society. The SEL, Tate said, bases itself on the class struggle and its elimination through the victory of those who work in society over the capitalists. Tate outlined some of the programmatic demands that the SEL is attempting to popularize.

Jerry Houle stated that the post-war achievements of the planned economy of the Soviet Union, symbolized by Sputnik, have thrust the people into conflict with the bureaucratic rulers, and we are witnessing a rebirth of the October Revolution in the struggle for socialist democracy in Hungary, Poland and other Soviet areas. He pointed to the devastating effects these events, along with the rigidity of the Buck leadership, are having on the Labor Progressive Party.

On the other hand, he said, we have the social democratic leaders such as Guy Mollet whose hands are stained with the blood of the Algerian freedom fighters and who back the Gaullist government headed towards the crushing of the French working class. And we don't have to go to France to see the betrayal of the social democratic leaders—he referred to the CCF right wing's support of the NATO military alliance, Coldwell's support of German Rearmament and the replacing of the Regina Manifesto with the Winnipeg Declaration.

This indicates the crying need for a new socialist leadership, the burning necessity, when you consider the massive H Bomb war preparations, the efforts of the imperialists to block the colonial revolution and increasing world unemployment. Houle urged the audience to promote the process of regroupment of socialists that is taking place everywhere. Without this thinking and re-thinking process there will be no new program and no new leadership, he warned, only the certainty of H Bomb destruction.

There was a lengthy and controversial discussion on a great diversity of questions—with participants both defending and extending some of the views of the speakers and others in wide disagreement. As the meeting drew to a close one of the audience asked that a hat be passed around and $10 was turned over as a donation to the touring SELers.

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The Workers Vanguard

Labor Party Endorsed By CCF Ntl Convention

By BRUCE FERGUSON

MONTREAL—The CCF national convention held here July 23-25 was dominated in all its discussions and deliberations by the Canadian Labor Congress' decision of last April to work for the building of a new, more broadly-based party to replace and encompass the CCF.

The last CCF national convention of two years ago was marked by the adoption of the notorious Winnipeg Declaration, which dumped the last vestige of a socialist perspective for the CCF. The right-wing leadership had hoped in adopting this declaration to broaden the base of the CCF and make it more acceptable to middle class elements and "backward" workers.

This year's convention followed on the heels of the March 31 electoral debacle of the CCF, which exposed the bankruptcy of the "Winnipeg" leadership and its policies. The perspective of a new political party in which CCFers could play a role, while at present rather vaguely defined, was the saving feature in a convention which would have been one of the most demoralized on record. The convention showed no sign of a genuinely critical analysis of the policies and principles of the party in light of the Tory sweep, which could have been curbed by the CCF posing a vital, dynamic, and socialist alternative

The convention unanimously adopted a resolution after a four-hour discussion, welcoming the CLC political resolution and authorizing continued negotiations with the CLC and CCCL unions, farm organizations and other interested popular organizations and individuals.

In spite of the unanimous support to this course which could open up a whole new perspective for labor political action in this country, considerable fears and misgivings were expressed. The resolutions committee, through national president David Lewis, accepted an amendment calling for a full discussion within the CCF before any binding commitments be made flowing from any negotiations.

The leadership also allayed fears of some of the old-time rank and file members that the union apparatus would bureaucratically dominate the new movement, by statements from many prominent labor leaders that the labor movement had no intention of dominating the new movement.

Their statements, however, raised new fears among the remnants of a once-powerful socialist wing that found their way into the convention. "There is nothing in the resolution which places us as a class party," warned Margaret Erickson, Vancouver delegate. Another Vancouver delegate warned of the dangers of collaborating with elements from the bourgeois parties.

The majority of the convention was made up of longtime right wingers along with a scattering of union officials and middle class elements attracted by the liberal-reform program of the Winnipeg Declaration, to whom "left-wing" Liberals and "progressive" Conservatives would be a welcome addition.

Ontario leader Donald C. McDonald claimed that there are scores and scores of people in the Ontario Liberal Party "just waiting for our lead." Other important figures expressed similar hopes. Although the future is as yet uncertain as regards a new political party there is no doubt that sections of the right wing "liberal" leadership are looking towards collaboration with elements in the capitalist parties; to build a broader base at the expense of the

See LABOR PARTY—page 4

(Continued from page 1)

class independence of the workers.

Claude Jodoin, who addressed the convention on behalf of the CLC, although he welcomed the passing of the resolution, gave very little indication as to what progress was being made in actually building the new party. While reiterating the view that the CLC did not want to dominate any new political formation, he, too, expressed the hope that "Liberals with a small l and progressives from the Progressive Conservatives" would find a home in it. He called for unity and collaboration between all classes and sections of the population.

The entire convention, both right and left, supported the proposed new movement, as a way out of the present crisis of the CCF, and as a forward step in the progress of the working class movement. A few delegates, hoping that somehow the rightward course of the CCF could be reversed in time, favored the retention of a certain independence for the CCF to avoid its submergence in a completely fused new party. But the convention as a whole was apathetic to the future of the CCF as such.

The biggest failing of the convention was that it never came to grips in any way with the program and principles, and with the causes of the election defeat. Resolutions on basic principles, submitted by several clubs never came up for discussion. Debate on the program and principles of either the CCF or a new political formation, was replaced by platitudes by one right-wing spokesman after another that the new party would be based on fundamentally the same principles as the CCF was founded upon. Their complete identification of these founding principles with the liberal Winnipeg Declaration went unchallenged by the convention.

Two or three efforts to introduce debate on public ownership and a re-evaluation of principles were greeted with silence or quickly railroaded off the floor. Toronto union delegate Peter Metheus stated that the election defeat was not entirely due to circumstances, but to the abandonment of socialist principles. He called upon the convention to seriously come to grips with the many vital resolutions on the H-Bomb tests, the shorter work week, etc., submitted by clubs. Most of these resolutions never came up, or were replaced

The Workers Vanguard #33 - Aug. 1958

CCF Reaffirms Support of NATO Left Fails to Mobilize Opposition

By VIRGINIA WILSON

MONTREAL — An emergency resolution on the Middle East crisis was the highlight of the foreign policy debate at the biennial national convention of the CCF, the second to be held in this city. It injected some spirited moments into an otherwise quiet and matter-of-fact gathering.

In a lengthy preamble the emergency resolution condemned the military intervention of the American and British governments in Lebanon and Jordan. It also censured the Canadian government for supporting an action which "was clearly an irresponsible risk of nuclear war."

Although forced by the pressure of events to oppose this open imperialist aggression, the CCF leadership tempered their opposition by demanding a UN force to police the area. Considerable opposition flared up at this backhanded justification of intervention to maintain the status quo against the rising anti-imperialist Pan-Arabic movement. It was recognized by many delegates that a UN force would only throw the cloak of legality over these acts of aggression and serve as a means to bail the US and Britain out of their present untenable position.

With the near success of an amendment demanding the immediate withdrawal of British and American forces, the right wing deftly bucked opposition by offering their own amendment. It called for the withdrawal of US and British troops and their replacement by a UN force, if necessary.

The acceptance of this equivocal amendment puts the CCF on record as supporting, by the back door, a police force the only purpose of which can be to prop up the governments of Jordan and Lebanon which the masses of those countries have demonstrated time and again they oppose and hate. Rather than express its solidarity with the legitimate aspirations of the colonial peoples, the CCF is committed to opposition to them.

As well as the emergency resolution the CCF's foreign policy in general was debated. Unfortunately many fine resolutions from individual clubs — some demanding Canada's withdrawal from NATO and the removal of foreign troops from Canadian soil—never reached the floor of the convention. Replacing them was a toothless composite resolution which former MP Colin Cameron described as a statement of the party's "implacable opposition to sin" with few positive suggestions for the promotion of virtue.

Virtually ignoring the fundamental international issues — the real source of the war danger and the continued existence of aggressive imperialist alliances — the resolution lined up on the side of the "West" voicing a few mild criticisms and suggestions, e.g., international inspection, disarmament, negotiations and greater economic cooperation among NATO members.

In an attempt to concretize the resolution's plea for the abandonment of nuclear weapons, John Morgan of Hamilton submitted an amendment demanding the immediate cessation of Canada's uranium shipments to all nations testing H Bombs. This amendment was narrowly defeated in a standing vote by 96 to 94.

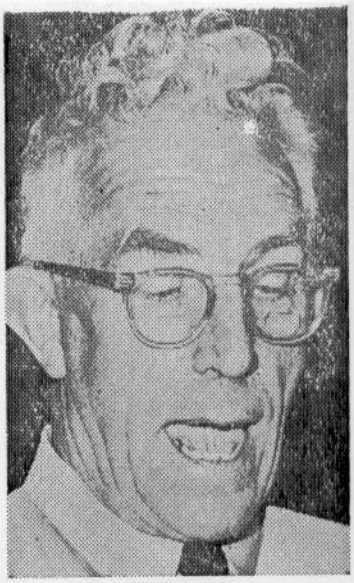
In the debate, the left wing, composed mostly of delegates from BC, weakened and rendered itself quite ineffectual. Instead of leading a principled struggle against the NATO war pact their mildly worded compromise amendment veiled the opposition. Their amendment looked forward to the day when military alliances such as NATO will be unnecessary, but until then asked that more money be spent to strengthen the west by economic aid. Naturally enough, the official resolutions committee seized on and incorporated the amendment into the original resolution without a murmur.

Similar restrained criticisms were voiced by the left in an amendment submitted by Colin Cameron which declared that the CCF does not regard military alliances, i.e., NATO, SEATO, or the Baghdad Pact, as being a permanent solution to the international crisis. As one BC delegate pointed out—the amendment made no clear division between feelings for and against NATO, but clouded the issue. Windsor delegate Jack Meteer stated that opposition to NATO should be a principle with socialists and not merely expressed because NATO does not serve its fundamental purpose too well.

The weakness of this "left" resolution was amply demonstrated by the support it received from right-winger David Lewis. Ineffectual as it was, the amendment evoked such a barrage of anti-NATO pronouncements that the right was compelled to smother it. It went down to defeat on the basis that it might give the impression the CCF opposed NATO.

There can be no doubt a left was present and heard at this convention. Rumblings of opposition to US foreign policy forced the condemnation of the British and US intervention in the Middle East. But on the whole the right wing never lost its control over the convention and rode over the left which lost itself in a maze of ineffectual criticisms and failed to debate from any clear-cut, principled point of difference.

The CCF continues to cling to its policy of support to the West with all its aggressive alliances. A broad socialist alternative to the cold war policies of the American and Canadian rulers has yet to be hammered out for the Canadian workers.



Ex-MP Colin Cameron appealing to CCF Convention to demand British and US troops be withdrawn from Mideast. National chairman David Lewis slandered Cameron as "irresponsible."

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TRADE UNION NOTES

30 FOR 40

"The unemployed autoworker in Windsor is asking questions these days that nobody, in the top levels of the UAW at least, seems to be able to answer satisfactorily. That question is: 'What about the four-day work week that was going to put us back to work? Have we been forgotten?'" writes Vic White, president of Local 200, UAW, in his column in the July 30 Guardian

White ridicules profit-sharing, that has been advanced by the Reuther leadership of the auto-workers union, as "pie in the sky talk" which "is not going to put one man to work tomorrow" or in "years to come."

"I think the leadership of the UAW in dropping the four-day work week—for whatever tactical or other motive they may have had —has been a serious mistake. These may sound like strong words," he writes. "They are meant to be. The problem of the auto-worker in Windsor is desperate" . . . "If we have organized this union as a weapon to fight for social justice then it must be used as one or it is not living up to what it claims to be. If we have it in our hands to put our hundreds of thousands of unemployed brothers back to work, and I say the four-day work week will go a long way towards doing this, then we must leave the pie-in-the-sky for the birds to peck and get down to putting them back to work. It is only just that we do."

NOT SOCIALIST

The employees of the provincially owned Saskatchewan Transportation Company are being asked to accept wages and conditions considerably inferior to those of the Greyhound bus employees in the same province and in the same union. STC management offered a 5 per cent increase which the union claims is 9½ to 12 per cent below the Greyhound scale. A four-day strike against the CCF government-administered company was only brought to an end by the appointment of a mediator.

STC management claims that a 5 per cent increase is all that can be met—even then it would be unable to pay interest on capital advanced from the provincial treasury—this year they lost $21,000 in revenues by the federal government's cancellation of mail contracts. By this method of bookkeeping the STC is asking the workers to subsidize the bus system for the people of Saskatchewan. At the same time it is playing into the hands of the opponents of provincial ownership and the whole idea of nationalization.

In 1946 the CCF government took over all the bus lines but the two most profitable ones — the trans-provincial Greyhound routes. The other routes must be operated as essential services to smaller communities, not at the expense of the bus men, but out of the provincial treasury, to be made up by increased taxes on Greyhound or other institutions that profit from the people of Saskatchewan.

SLIDING SCALE

The Tory federal government has finally made a token recognition of the impact that inflation and the rising cost of living is having on pensioners and others with fixed incomes. It has decided to increase payments now going to some 15,000 pensioners retired before 1953. That pensions bear no relation to need, as they are determined by length of service and by level of salary at or prior to retirement, is revealed by the government report that there are pensioners receiving as little as $20 a month. Such persons, Finance Minister Fleming said, would get a maximum increase of a mere $6.40 a month — the average increase, however, would be $18.33.

Not only does the whole pension system require a complete overhaul so that it provides a decent living standard but established rates should be protected with guaranteed automatic increases with each rise in the cost of living.

COST OF TORIES

Less than 4,000 of the Ontario Department of Highways' 12,000 employees are eligible for pensions or sick leave benefits by the government's refusal to rate them as permanent civil servants. Despite a directive from Premier Frost back in 1956 that a 40-hour week be instituted in all government agencies as soon as possible, a directive has been issued to Department of Highways employees to work a 50-hour week without overtime pay—normal working hours for construction inspectors and weighmen is 10 hours a day, 5 days a week. The legal work week in Ontario is 48 hours. Casual workers get $1.05 an hour.

SOLIDARITY

The 800 glass workers who struck Dominion Glass in Hamilton for six weeks, and in the process effectively blocked trains from crossing their picket line to haul stock out of the plant, have set another example of union militancy and solidarity.

When the company finally settled for a 20-cent-an-hour package as against its final 18½-cent-an-hour offer, the Hamilton workers refused to return to work. Scheduled to return on July 14 they remained on the picket line in solidarity with 35 warehouse members of the Toronto local of the United Glassworkers and Ceramic who three days later were conceded a wage scale on par with that paid in Hamilton for the same job.

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THE SENATE IS A BASTION OF BOSSES POWER

by Lou Marsh

The purpose of the Canadian senate, according to its founders, was to take a long, sober look at legislation passed by the house of commons. Sir John A. Macdonald, the father of confederation, said; "It must be an independent house, calmly considering the legislation initiated by the popular branch, and preventing any hasty or ill-considered legislation which may come from that body . . ."

How can the senate be "independent" in any meaningful way when its members are appointed for life by whatever party is in power in the commons—all the less so when all parties in power since confederation have been in agreement on basic principles — being parties of big business? As for "preventing any hasty or ill-considered legislation" initiated by the commons, take a look at the senate's role in the pipeline debate of two years ago!

This bill was a give-away of millions of taxpayers' dollars to a wealthy non-Canadian corporation. The ownership of the pipeline, exploiting a natural resource of the nation and financed from the public treasury, should have been retained by the government. The bill was forced through the house of commons by means of closure. But did the senate give it the long, independent, second thought that some newspaper editorials suggested it should?

Not at all. They amended their rules so it could be put through in one day. But then Senator Haig, more sensitive than the others, said, "I do not want the charge to be laid against this house, that the bill was forced through in one day. That just is not done." So they waited till the next day to pass it. And with regard to the "sober second look," Senator Farris said, "Well, I believe that at least we are all sober; and my respectful suggestion is that it is the people of Canada who have been misinformed and ought to have a second look, rather than the senators of this country."

This is not an isolated incident—look at the passage of Section 98! This amendment to the Criminal Code, along with an amendment to the Immigration Act, was passed during the 1919 Winnipeg General Strike for use against the strikers.

The amendment to the Immigration Act permitted the deportation as an undesirable, of any immigrant, British or foreign-born, regardless of the length of time he had lived in Canada, and without trial by jury. Section 98 outlawed organizations alleged to propose the use of violence, made attendance at a meeting of such a designated organization proof of membership unless you could prove otherwise, and provided a 20-year jail sentence for membership. The same sentence applied to anyone importing a book containing anything defending revolution. This bill, which killed free speech in Canada, was passed by the house of commons, the senate, and the Governor-General in less than one hour. No second looks here either.

A senatorship is regarded as a life-time pension for political hacks. One centenarian, now dead, was wheeled once a year on a reclining chair into a senate sitting he could neither see nor hear—for this he earned his annual indemnity. In 1953, a typical year, the senate sat for 108 days for an average of 6½ hours. That works out to a 14-hour work week. They get $10,000 annually. The senate costs the taxpayers over $1½ million every year.

Because the senate so obviously does not carry out its stated purpose, many senate critics make the mistake of treating it as an expensive joke.

But if the senate is a joke, a pension plan for party hacks, how has it managed to survive almost a century of consistent criticism? To answer this we must penetrate below the surface appearance.

The great majority of home-owners in Canada carry fire insurance. Some have extra devices — hand extinguishers, etc., against a possible fire around the kitchen stove or in the furnace room. Yet few have ever had a fire or had any occasion to use the hand extinguishers. The fact that the hand extinguisher is not being used for its fundamental purpose and has the appearance of no use, in some cases even a costly no use, does not deny its fundamental and valuable use. Depending on its shape and form it might even be utilized as a paper weight or a book end and with time this might, to an uninitiated or narrow visioned person, appear to be its use. But it has a use, and its real use is quite different and apart from its present apparent one. It is designed for an emergency—some devices can only be used once. It is not its years of use as a paper weight but its one-time use as a fire extinguisher that is its fundamental character and purpose.

So it is with the Senate. We cannot let its innocuous appearance, its appearance in times of class peace of non-utility, blind us to its potential and its fundamental role. This becomes apparent only in times of emergency, in times of sharpened class struggle.

As long as the house of commons is representative of the interests of the ruling class the senate appears innocuous and useless. But when the people of Canada elect a government opposed to capitalism then we shall see the real role of the senate.

This has been its intended role since its creation. The speeches of the fathers of confederation openly state that it is designed to protect private property — not personal property, but private property in the means of production—the capitalist system. According to another of the founding fathers, Cartier—"the weak point in democratic institutions is the leaving of all power in the hands of the popular element . . . there must be a power of resistance to oppose the democratic element." Lougheed, Conservative leader in the senate from 1911 to 1921 said, "The senate is a bulwark against the clamor and caprice of the mob."

Qualifications for senator guarantee that property rights will be protected. Sir John A. Macdonald said, "There should be a large property qualification for the Upper House which is the representative of property." He elaborated this, according to Senator John T. Haig, writing in the July 5, 1952

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Financial Post. "Sir John A. Macdonald said there might come a day in Canada when the house of commons would have a majority which decided to take all our property away from us, but if the gentlemen in the second chamber had property qualifications of their own, there would be some delay before that legislation could be passed." The result of this sentiment was a clause that senators must own real property to a net value of $4,000.

Sir John A. Macdonald speaking at the 1864 Quebec Conference, on the function of the Senate, said: "The rights of the minority must be protected, and the rich are always fewer in number than the poor."

The fathers of confederation gave the Senate, this "protector of private property," a lot of power. Bills may originate in the house of commons or in the senate but must be approved by both houses. Money bills must originate in the house of commons and cannot be amended upwards by the senate. This means that the senate can block indefinitely any legislation.

The composition of the almost 100-member senate is evidence of the representation of property. In 1927 there were 50 senators who were directors of 334 financial and commercial institutions. In 1945 some 40 senators were directors of companies. In 1954, Blair Fraser of Macleans Magazine said, "At least half are directors of companies or corporation lawyers or both," and in 1957 some 33 were directors.

This completely capitalist composition, combined with the appointment for life provision, makes the senate completely impervious to public opinion. In fact, almost the only government bills opposed by the senate are those which are passed due to the pressure of public opinion on the party in power but to which the financial interests are opposed.

In 1926, though it was unanimously passed by the commons, the senate rejected the first Old Age Pension Bill. It has amended anti-combine legislation to make it meaningless. Six times it turned down a bill repealing Section 98. It has not improved with age. It only recently recommended against amendments to the NHA to extend their low rental facilities.

When the role of the senate has been so reactionary in the past century of unchallenged control of the house of commons by the parties of big business, there can be no doubt it will find much greater scope for its purposes in the coming period of increasing labor political action. Nor can there be any doubt that the senate with its power to reject any legislation, including legislation abolishing the senate, will make impossible the constitutional legislation of socialism,

CIVIL RIGHTS ARE USURPED

Have you ever walked down a Toronto street early in the morning, say at 5:30, in your working clothes?

Perhaps you've been called in to relieve one of the boys on the job.

Perhaps you're not sleeping too well, so you go out for a stroll. You want to pick up some cigarettes.

Watch out! You're liable to spend the week-end in jail. Disappear! Whisked away from your family until some time later they are informed by phone that they have to raise $200 bail for you. What's more you are liable to be fined, or if unable to pay the fine, sent to jail for 10 days, maybe longer.

That's what happened to me, and it could happen to you or any one of the hundreds of thousands of people in this city, Irving Himel of the Association for Civil Liberties told a Toronto Magistrate's Court.

I, Ernest Tate, had just returned from a trip across the west.

I had just parked my truck in a friend's backyard, and was hurrying to my wife and home, five minutes away.

I was walking down one of Toronto's main streets when two policemen suddenly accosted me. I was "co-operative", as one of them testified in court. I identified myself. I told them where I was coming from and where I was going. I told them what was in the suitcase I was carrying. But nevertheless they demanded that I open it for their inspection.

Indignant that I should be treated as a criminal I stood on my rights — rights that have been hard won by past generations.

A thousand thoughts flashed through my mind. I could comply to the demands of the officers — as thousands of others in the same circumstances have. The police have certain authority, but citizens have rights, too.

What right have they to demand that I open my suitcase?

They were treating me like a confirmed criminal. No charge had been laid against me — there isn't even the slightest basis of suspicion.

Isn't a man innocent until proven guilty?

Isn't guilt determined by overt acts — not a mere suspicion that might enter a policeman's head.

Are the police the dispensers of the law, the judge and the jury?

Isn't the next step thought control.

Isn't this how totalitarianism comes?

I told them I would open my suitcase in the presence of my lawyer.

Do you think this a crime? It is a crime in the eyes of the Toronto Police and a Toronto Magistrate's Court!

Of course at the station, after they wrenched the bag from my hands and opened it, they found what I said it contained — dirty clothing. They searched me and found my bank book registering a balance of over $600, my watch worth over $50. Nevertheless they whisked me off to the Don Jail where I later learned, and not formally, mind you, I was charged with vagrancy.

And I am a vagrant, according to the Toronto Police Courts.

Why?

Because I was dressed like a worker. Not like a "tramp" as one of the officers testified. "Rough pants, heavy work boots, leather jacket," the officer said in court. Because of "the time," somewhere around 5:30 in the morning. Because of "the area," Church Street, one block above Carlton, an ordinary enough place, and because I was unemployed at the time.

One of the testifying officers was asked by Mr. Himel, did he consider it a crime for someone to be unemployed.

After some hesitation he replied "perhaps not at this time."

Unemployed, yes, but, Mr. Himel asked, what made you decide Mr. Tate had no visible means of support?

The officer looked perplexed and could not answer.

According to this then, isn't every one of you a suspect in the eyes of the Toronto police? Isn't every worker a suspect as a vagrant, threatened at any time with loss of his liberty?

I am appealing my conviction as a vagrant by a Toronto Police Court Magistrate.

The Association for Civil Liberties considers it a most important civil rights case.

"If this case stands then the rights of every one of you here and every citizen in this city are in danger," declared Unitarian Minister Reverend W. P. Jenkins from his pulpit on October 26.

If the conviction is upheld, he challenged, "it will give the police an added arrogance to that which they have already acquired as the result of some other things that happened over the years past."

At the February Membership Meeting, our Local Union endorsed in principle the fight to appeal the Court's conviction of Ernest Tate. This case has been endorsed by the Rubberworkers Local at Dunlop, a Machinist Local, an Operating Engineers Local, two Locals of the Paperhangers and the Building Service Employees.

BEAVER LADIES' BITS

By THELMA COBB

February 17 was a big day for gramma "Blanche". Daughter Lynne had a visit from the stork "twin girls yet". Penny Lynne and Wendy Lee.

Congratulations to Otto Bookoff, who took himself a wife.

Sorry to report that Anne Podgers of our canteen service in the Eng. Div. fell and hurt her back. We all wish her a speedy recovery.

Two more girls made the jump from group 7 to group 4. Best of luck to Edith Baker and Helen Adams.

We are pleased to see Harry Mannock back with us again after a long illness.

From time to time we receive letters from readers such as the one below. The Publicity Committee welcomes these letters as they help us to judge the success of our paper. H. T.

Georgetown, Ont.

Dear Mr. Thorne:

I realize perhaps your curriculum is limited, however, as a suggestion from a wife, why don't you print hobby's and crafts suggestions, also an odd toy or facsimile for children that the men or women could make. A recipe or pattern corner could be interesting too. With a good layout your paper could be considerably more interesting and you would in all probability get full hearted interest from the men too. It's a shame to use money and effort for a paper if it isn't of complete interest to both union member and wife.

Hoping you won't mind the suggestion, but I always read "The Aircrafter" and realize it could be better with a little effort.

Sincerely,
SHIRLEY TROW

• • •

THELMA REPLIES

Dear Mrs. Trow:

In answer to your letter and on behalf of Local 112, I would like to say thank you for your interest in our paper. We do think it is a very good idea you have, but may I say it will take the full co-operation of our members to keep it going. We do hope when you read this article and some ideas pop into your mind you will jot them down on a piece of paper and send them with hubby to work (if he's like mine we may get 50% of them). This means you gals too. We would be happy to have a poll taken in each shop to see what interest a column such as the one you have suggested would receive. With the proper response I'm certain that this would be a welcome addition to our paper.

THELMA COBB,
Beaver Comp.

". . . we believe that labor, acting along economic and political lines, can secure a more equitable distribution of the nation's wealth for those performing useful service to society . . ."
—From the Preamble to Local 796 By-laws.

The Gauge

The policy of **THE GAUGE** is reflected in its editorials. Signed articles and features express the opinions of our contributors and not necessarily the policy or opinion of

THE GAUGE

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WAS JUSTICE SERVED

Last Fall a young man appeared before a meeting of our Local. His name was Ernest Tate. He had been molested by two Toronto policemen, early one morning, about a month previously as he was walking down a Toronto main street, only a few minutes from his home.

He had refused to open his suitcase upon demand of the officers, as was subsequently conceded to be his right, he was whisked off to the police station and charged with vagrancy. His suitcase was forcibly wrenched from him and opened to reveal, what he said it contained, only soiled clothes. He proved to have a valuable watch and a bank book registering over $600. Nonetheless, the vagrancy charge was not withdrawn. He was held in jail and released only after friends provided the considerable sum of $200 demanded as bail.

Although the Crown was given the opportunity to drop the whole matter when it came before the court, it nonetheless pressed the outrageous charge of vagrancy. To cap of this travesty of justice, the Toronto Police Magistrate found Tate guilty and fined him $5 or 10 days in jail. No matter what can be said about the situation whereby to be a vagrant, is to be a criminal —Tate was obviously not guilty of vagrancy. Possible the court thought that this convicted vagrant, who they had put to so much inconvenience, would pay the modest fine and forget the whole matter. Tate did not. He considered that his civil rights in general had been infringed upon, and decided to continue his fight with the aid of Irving Himel of the Association of Civil Liberties, against police arrogance, directed, as the evidence showed, against working people, and in particular, workers who stand up for the rights that we are supposed to have long ago established.

Our Local meeting agreed that this was an important civil rights case and we donated $25 to meet the costs of an appeal. It was with considerable satisfaction that we can now report that Tate has won his appeal.

We are often asked to aid good causes and we have a record that we can be proud of in meeting such calls. Many that we have supported have been lost, for, as you know, justice often does not prevail. But this case has been won.

The Toronto Daily Press, a staunch defender of civil rights in other lands, was strangely silent on this case—generally the reports were slanted to make Tate appear, not as a man of courage and principles, which he demonstrated, but as a provocative and arrogant young man—although one of the two officers testified that he was both "respectful" and "courteous."

Now that the case has been won, it is good to see the Toronto Star come out with two editorials and an editorial cartoon upholding Tate and civil rights. But even in the flush of success we should caution ourselves and learn what there is to be learned in this case.

To be sure, Appeal Court Judge Forsyth quashed the conviction of vagrancy handed down by the Magistrate's Court. But the verdict was far from "excellent", and the Judge has far from "asserted that an innocent man does in fact have the right to walk down a Toronto street, without fear of arrest", as the *Star* edits claim.

In fact, as he quashed the conviction, the Judge at the same time went out of his way to uphold the actions of the officers in his statement that Tate "was the author of his own troubles", and "if he had been more cooperative, he wouldn't have got into all the trouble." The Judge's finding was summed up in his comment that, "the evidence does not justify a conviction on this charge" — vagrancy. A fact immediately obvious to anyone.

Far from being rapped for their arrogant actions,the two officers were upheld. Neither was the crown condemned for prosecuting Tate, when it is transparently clear that there was no evidence from the word go. Nor was Magistrate Rogers censored for his incredible conviction of Tate.

Far from upholding the law, and from affirming the rights of citizens, the Appeal Court stuck by the police, the Crown and the Magistrate's Court. It got them off the hook that their anti-working class bias and dictatorial arrogance had placed them. And to warn any and all other citizens, should they be considering standing on their rights, that it will be a costly business, the Court refused to award Tate the costs that the police, the Crown and the Courts had imposed upon him.

It was not just an obligation but an opportunity and an honour that Tate gave us to come to his aid, and we owe him much for his defence of our rights. Others will take heart from his actions. Despite the solid front that the police and the courts have presented in this case, they have been doubtlessly rendered a little more cautious by this fight.

The role of the court, as once again revealed in the Tate case, rouses dire fears over the fate of the heroic Newfoundland loggers and in particular, Earl Laing, who now stands in the dock charged with the death of a constable who was struck during the unprovoked attack by the RCMP on loggers at Badger. The Crown Attorney is himself a director of one of the big paper corporations, the Nazi-like legislation, outlawing unions, and the hysteria whipped up by the Smallwood Government have seriously prejudiced a fair trial. Just as we identified ourselves with the Tate case in Toronto, all the more must we solidarize ourselves with Earl Laing and his imprisoned brothers, by giving aid and demanding that the charges be dropped.

Executive Board . . .

(Continued from Page 1)

the proposed union-negotiated pension plan and on the role that the Trust Company would play in a pension plan.

It was duly moved, seconded and carried that the Executive Committee be authorized to execute the Agreement of Trust between the Joint Committee of the International Union of Operating Engineers (Ontario) Pension Plan and the Montreal Trust Company.

The subcommittee report was submitted by Brother Smart as follows:

The following recommendations made by this committee are based on defining the proper functions of the Business Manager in the Local Union, we therefore recommend

(1) That the finance committee as it is now known be dissolved upon election and installation of the auditors and trustees in accordance with the by-laws and constitution.

(2) That the Business Managers authority and responsibility regarding other paid employees of the local union should be defined in Section 1 Art. IX of the by-laws to read as follows:

Article IX — Staff

Section 1 — Business Manager

The Executive Board shall elect a business manager. The Business Manager shall be an ex-officio member of all local union committees that are elected or appointed and shall be in charge of the functions of all paid employees of the local union with the power of hiring and firing subject to the approval of the executive board.

Recommendation #1 by the committee was duly moved, seconded and carried.

Recommendation #2 by the committee was duly moved, seconded and carried.

The committee having finished its work was discharged by the President.

OFFICERS REPORTS

Brother Douglas (Financial Secretary) reported that in January 1958 the membership was 1559 and that in March 1959 the membership was 1690, showing an increase of 131 members in 15 months.

Brother Douglas also reported that this was his 20th continuous year as Financial Secretary and that when he had taken office in 1939 the membership of the local union had been 68 members.

COMMITTEE REPORTS

Brother Gray reporting for the by-law committee pointed out that the proposed changes to the by-laws were published in the Gauge and would be presented to the general membership meeting. However there were some proposals from the by-law committee that were in the form of recommendations to the executive board. These were:

Article IX Section 5

'The By-Law Committee recommend that the Executive Board and the general membership meeting authorize a referendum vote of the whole membership to have the initiation fee increased to $25.00."

It was duly moved, seconded and carried that the Executive Board recommend a referendum vote to have the initiation fee increased to $25.00. A division of the house showed that the vote was 8 to 6 in favour.

Article IX Section 8 (b) and (c)

'The by-law committee recommends that the Executive Board and the general membership authorize a referendum vote to increase the reduced dues rate to $2.00."

It was duly moved, seconded and carried that the Executive Board recommend to the general membership meeting that a referendum vote be held to increase the reduced dues rate to $2.00 per month.

It was duly moved, seconded and carried that if a referendum vote is held then a simple majority of the returned ballots would determine the results.

Continuing with the report of the by-laws committee it was duly moved, seconded and carried that the Article X — "District Administration" be redrafted to provide for

(1) The maintenance of a bank account for each and every district between predetermined limits consistent with the needs of the district and (2) The definition of expenses which each district is authorized to pay from the established bank account."

It was duly moved, seconded and carried that a sub committee be struck off to study this proposal.

The committee established was: Brother Gray, Chairman; Brothers Ilton, St. Louis, Brown and Deck. This completed the by-laws committee report. A motion to extend the meeting until 6.30 p.m. was carried.

TREASURERS REPORT

The following summary of the bank balances was presented as a report from the Treasurer:

The April figures were estimates.

Date	Memb.	Acct.	Acct.	Conv. Fund	Total
Jan 59	1630	$1854.02def	4054.48	$1207.72	$6855.11	$10263.79
Feb 59	1648	2231.92def	3982.03	1207.72	6326.11	9283.94
Mar 59	1690	388.46	480.73	1207.72	6785.11	8862.02
Apr 59	?	117.03def	1713.28	207.72	7452.11	9256.08

EDITORIAL COMMITTEE

It was reported that during 1958 the cost of publishing "The Gauge" was $1856.74, which covered the costs of printing and mailing.

At the direction of the Executive Committee the Editorial Committee started to keep a record of time spent by paid staff in preparing and mailing the Gauge. For the month of April 1959, the number of hours reported was 25 in total to do the layout, editing and mailing.

BUSINESS MANAGER REPORT

The Business Manager's report included the following information

Car Expenses from the week ending Jan. 30, 1959, to week ending April 24, 1959, the costs for car expenses for the three full-time representatives were:

Brother Gray—gas, oil & repairs, 235.26; depreciation allowance, $156; licence and insurance allowance, $39.

Business Miles recorded—3124.

Brother Tyler—gas, oil and repairs, $222.81; depreciation allowance, $156; licence and insurance allowance, $39.

Business Miles recorded—3662.

Brother Garceau—gas, oil and repairs, $156.40; assumed depreciation for 13 weeks, $150; assumed licence and insurance costs, $39.

Business Miles recorded—1772.

NEW CERTIFICATION SINCE NOV. 6, 1958

New bargaining rights have been gained at 11 more plants and we are as of May 1, 1959, processing applications for certification at 3 other plants.

Other proceedings were:— Two plants—votes were lost. Three plants —applications withdrawn due to insufficient members at plant. Bargaining rights were lost at 2 other plants.

New members—129 new members were accepted November 1958 and March 1959, inclusive.

Suspensions—71 for non-payment of dues from November 1958 to March 1959, inclusive.

Withdrawals — 9 during same period.

Reduced dues members — 120 as May 1, 1959.

Contracts — 55 agreements were signed November 1958 to March 1959, inclusive. Brother Gray made the following recommendations to the Executive Board:

(a) That the whole question of contract negotiations should be reviewed by the executive board to clearly establish for the Business Representatives some guideposts for establishing the best possible working conditions, wages and protection for the members of the union.

(b) That there should be a full

(Continued on Page 4)

Think about your Government

Name Withheld

With the Ontario Election coming up on June 11th, it would seem to be very much in order to offer some comments and opinions on the record of the three Political Parties involved.

Most of us in the trade union movement, being ordinary citizens, concerned with day-to-day problems of earning a decent living, are inclined to lose track of the record of the various parties in the House.

The record of the Frost Government has been marked by the Highway Scandal of 1955, but even more so, by ownership and purchase of stock in Northern Ontario Natural Gas Company by three Cabinet Ministers.

In view of the fact that gas line stock issue was investigated by an all Tory group, then it would seem probable that the findings were the most favourable possible to the Frost Government and Tory Party.

Mr. Frost refused the repeated requests of Mr. Donald MacDonald for a royal commission to thoroughly and impartially investigate the pipe-line issue.

The record of the Liberals in opposition under Mr. Wintermeyer, was one of complete failure. Mr. Wintermeyer also purchased stock in Northern Ontario Natural Gas Company on the advice of the Minister of Mines, Mr. Kelly. In view of the apparent very close personal relationship between the Liberal Leader and the Tory Cabinet Minister, it is not surprising that the Liberals were useless in the role of Official Opposition.

Even the very strongly pro-Liberal "Toronto Star" says that Mr. Wintermeyer is unsuited to lead the Ontario Liberals and in addition says that the only effective opposition to the Conservative Government came from Mr. Donald MacDonald, the C.C.F. Leader in Ontario.

I believe the worst thing that could happen in Ontario would be an election victory for Wintermeyer and his so-called Liberals.

The record of the C.C.F. is one of diligent application to the job of rendering effective opposition to the overwhelming majority of the Tory Government.

Whatever the outcome of this election Mr. MacDonald deserves the utmost admiration and support for his aggressive, courageous, consistent and diligent efforts on behalf of the ordinary people of Ontario.

The C.C.F. is the only Party participating in the Ontario Election whose record from Coast to Coast in Canada has been one of strong and consistent opposition to such anti-labor legislation as that enacted in Newfoundland and in British Columbia.

In Newfoundland the anti-labor legislation was unanimously supported by both Liberal and Conservative M.P.'s in the Newfoundland House. In B.C. the Social Credit Government is led by former Tories.

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(TEXT & Changes by R.D.:)

Tate---1

Last fall a young man appeared before ~~our~~ local ~~meeting~~ a meeting of our

to ask our aid. His name was Ernest Tate. He had been molested

by two Toronto police officers early one morning about a month

previously as he was walking down a Toronto main street only a few minutes from home

He had refused to open his suitcase upon the demand of the officers who subsequently conceded the right to do so. He was

forcibly

station and charged with vagrancy. His suitcase was seized from him and opened to reveal, ~~as he said, to contain~~ only soiled

which he said contained

clothes, ~~x~~ notwithstanding the fact that he proved to have a valuable watch-a bank account registering over $600 ~~x~~ ~~x~~ The charge was not withdrawn. He was held

Magistrate

in jail and released only after providing the considerable sum of

$200 as bail. ~~While given the opportunity to drop the matter~~ ~~x~~ The presiding Magistrate came before Court

acting Police

nonehtless pressed this outrageous charge.

To cap off this traversty of justice the Toronto police magistrate

found Tate guilty of vagrancy fining and ~~fined~~ him $5 or 10 days in

Tate was charged not as a vagrant but as one of a group of persons

jail. ~~How it is a crime to be a vagrant I do not know. The fine~~

~~of $5 is a modest one and~~ possibly the court thought that this con

the modest fine would

victed vagrant would pay up and forget the matter. Tate did not

Tate was charged with being a vagrant. I do not know why it is a crime to be a vagrant. The fine of $5 is a modest one and possibly the court thought that this convicted vagrant would pay up and forget the matter. Tate did not

The Workers Vanguard #35 - Oct. 1958

BAR UAW LOCAL'S DELEGATE

By JAMES STEPHENS

Who is going to determine just who will and who will not be seated as delegates to the new labor party policy bodies? The barring of an official delegate of the 2,200 strong De-Havilland local of the UAW from the recent Ontario CCF convention is indeed an ominous infringement on the elementary democratic right of an affiliated union local to elect whom it sees fit to represent it at a convention of "labor's political arm."

Hugh Dowson, stopped from taking his seat by the CCF provincial council on the eve of the convention, was one of five De-Havilland delegates, is a founding member of the local's political education committee and is well known as a delegate to the Toronto Labor Council.

Local 212 executive member and CCF federal election candidate Fred Prentice appeared before the provincial council on behalf of the local following an exchange of correspondence demanding that Dowson be seated or that specific charges be laid. The CCF provincial secretary contended that membership in the Socialist Educational League automatically debarred Dowson as a delegate, admitting at the same time that he had no proof that Dowson was even a member. Prentice protested and reminded the council that their autocratic action might result in disaffiliation of the first UAW local in Canada from the CCF.

"I suppose it would be alright if we sent Liberals or Tories," he challenged. To which delegate Scanlon retorted that he preferred them to Dowson—with whom he wouldn't sit in the same room. The vote to unseat the DH local delegate was upheld with only half a dozen recording their opposition. The next move is up to Local 212 rank and file.

The Workers Vanguard
Page 4 #35 Mid-October, 1958

Ranks Disturb CCF-CLC Brass In BC Discussion of New Party

By GLEN KIRKWELL

VANCOUVER—"The plots of men gang oft agley," carolled Burns, the rebel poet. The recent provincial council meeting of the BC CCF confirmed the poet's perspicacity. Convened to consider the regular administrative and political affairs of the party, the conference apparently bogged down on the contentious issue of the CCF's relations with the Canadian Congress of Labor.

It would appear that representatives of the press were not present at the gathering but, in the week following the meeting, both capitalist daily papers here featured stories purporting to reveal what had transpired. From the evidence, it would seem that either H. Thayer, CCF provincial secretary, or George Home, secretary of the BC Federation of Labor—or both, had sung like canaries to the press in an effort to protect an exposed flank of the bureaucrats.

The developments stem from the 1958 CLC convention resolution on political action. Here it must be succinctly stated that this resolution was hatched in a conspiracy between top echelon opportunists of the congress and the CCF. The broad concepts it expressed were deliberately designed to neutralize opposition and to ensure its passage through the convention.

ELECTORAL MACHINE

The terms of the resolution conform to the needs made obvious to vast numbers of trade unionists by objective necessity. Such a broad CLASS party must be forged. But this is not the concept of the hypocritical architects of the resolution. Their narrow, opportunist aim is to mechanically hitch the treasuries of the trade unions to the motor scooter of the CCF in order that a horde of sychophants might hope to pop along into political office.

Despite all their cries to the contrary, their actions speak louder than words. They have no intention of mobilizing broad layers of the working class as such nor drawing into active political life and participation the rank and file of the unions. This would be dangerous to their aims. No! Their concept is that of a nice, cosy, well controlled electoral machine adequately financed by the unions. Period. That is all.

This is made abundantly clear in BC where a series of "zone" conferences has been scheduled by a joint liaison committee of the CCF and the BC Federation of Labor. These "zones" are made up of a number of provincial constituencies embraced in a given geographical area. Invitations are issued to approved unions by the BC Federation functionaries, and the CCF handles its arrangements. Representation is proportional — that is, the number of delegates from unions must equate the representation of the CCF—even if this means delegating almost the entire CCF membership in some local instances.

RANKS BREAK THROUGH

The underlying motif of these conferences is: CLC and CCF getting to know each other and exploring ways and means of developing joint action to ensure the election of the CCF in the coming BC elections. The prepared agenda for the conferences is designed to hold discussion within narrow and sterile organizational limits. However, a feature of the panel discussions in the sessions to date has been the interjection and breakthrough of objections to the narrowness of the approach, the limitations on participation, and the need to confer at the grass roots, constituency, rank and file level.

This was the background for the eruption at the CCF provincial council meeting. Zone conferences were under discussion and Zone Five conference scheduled for October 11 and 12 was the focal point. Now it happens that Zone Five includes the constituencies of Cranbrook, Nelson-Creston, Grand Forks-Greenwood and Rossland-Trail areas where the overwhelming bulk of organized workers belong to the Mine Mill and Smelter Workers Union!

The position of the CLC outlined to the council by Home was that Mine Mill Union was beyond the pale; that CLC units could not confer with it. The position of the CCF executive was that of trying to straddle the difficulty. It presented the council with a prepared resolution proposing that Zone Five conference be held, as scheduled, but restricted to CCF delegates only and that the CLC be requested to supply "guest speakers" to yak at them.

H. W. Herridge, MP, speaking on behalf of the CCF membership in the area and with the consent of two MLA's, Ran Harding and Leo Nimsick, pointed out the fatuity of dismissing Mine Mill Union as a factor in electoral work in the area. He proposed that the projected CLC-CCF restricted conference be called off and that he and the other CCF MLA's in the area convene a conference similar to one they called last year which drew together ALL the unions with the CCF.

After three hours discussion the executive's proposal was voted down by the council. Subsequently, a motion from the floor calling for the indefinite postponement of the projected CLC-CCF conference, carried by a majority vote. Inferentially, the proposal of Herridge has the support of the majority of the Council and it is believed that he and the MLA's mentioned will proceed to call an all-inclusive trade union-CCF conference in the near future. This clash of ideas first breaking out in BC is one of the gestation pains of the projected realignment of working class political organization in Canada.

Out of CLC -CCF conferences must come

A LABOR PARTY, NOT LIBERAL-LABOR COALITION

by ROSS DOWSON

(from Workers' Vanguard, October 1958)

What will come out of the political action decision of the Canadian Congress of Labor which was subsequently endorsed by the CCF *(Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, the farmer-labor party established in 1933, precursor to the NDP 貌d.)* national convention? Will the next federal election see a powerful new party enter the contest ・ a party uniting in its ranks the workers in basic industry, in fabricating, clerical workers ・ a party based on the million and a half strong trade union movement, attracting to its side the organizations of the working farmers, a class party, seeking to establish a workers' and farmers' government.

Such a party would conform to the realities of the Canadian scene. Canadian society and the Canadian people are divided along class lines. At the one pole stand a tiny handful — Canada's 50 Big Shots — who dominate and control through a complex of corporations and financial institutions the vast wealth and productive capacity of the nation. At the other pole stand those who work the machines, who toil in the mines, fish the deeps, thresh the grain — the millions of salary and wage workers and dependents.

Capital, to reinforce and mask its class rule of Canada, has not one but three parties — the Progressive Conservatives, the Liberals and Social Credit. Labor was served by the CCF, no matter the seriousness of its shortcomings, for a whole period. Now the working people of Canada are on the verge of stepping out onto a new path. Will they shape out a mass class party that will prepare the ground for a socialist Canada in a socialist world?

The Canadian people have the capacity to form such a party. And an easy birth will assure the growth of the embryo into the man. But many forces that would strangle it at its birth or distort and deform it in its formative stages stand in the way. First and foremost are the capitalist class and all their stooges and apologists with vast accumulations of wealth and all the organs of communication — the press, radio, TV at their disposal.

With studied hypocrisy they shout dire predictions of what will arise from a labor party. BC Tory leader Deane Finlayson, for instance, warns; "If people of one segment of society are set against another we will only get ourselves involved in an archaic, chaotic and unholy social war that will leave the country prostrate."

If not the life, the development of the infant party in its formative stages is threatened by those who are the main attendants at its birth — the top brass of the Canadian Labor Congress and the CCF who, despite the fact that they head up organizations of a distinct class character — would deprive the party that is being born of its birthright.

The semi-retired CCF national leader, M. J. Coldwell, when hailing the CLC resolution remarked that "the convention did not envisage a political movement on a

narrow class basis" and expressed confidence that the new movement would adopt a philosophy "not narrowly farm, labor or representative of any sectional interest." CLC *(formerly CCL)* president Claude Jodoin, addressing the CCF convention called for unity and collaboration between all classes and sections of the population, expressing the hope that "Liberals with a small 'l' and progressives from the Progressive Conservatives" would find a home in it.

The CLC and CCF brass' opposition to the new party having a distinct class character is formidable. But even this does not complete the roster.

In contravention of the CLC resolution, which calls for the broadest participation of all individuals and groups, former CCF whip and now CLC vice-president Stanley Knowles has issued a statement barring the Mine Mill and Smelter Workers Union, the Fishermen's Union and the Labor Progressive Party *(the name adopted by the Stalinist Canadian Communist Party since World War 2 –ed.)* from the joint CLC-CCF conferences being held in BC. CLC vice-president William Dodge has added the UE (United Electrical Workers union) to the list of those banned from the conferences being held in Northern Ontario late this month. One might suspect from this high handed and autocratic action that the LPP and Mine Mill are opposed to the policy of the right wing CCF and trade union brass — that they favor a distinctly class party, a labor party and a workers' and farmers' government. Such is not the case.

In order to add moral weight to the constitutional arguments that he used to silence delegates to the Vancouver conference who protested the exclusion of Mine Mill, BC Federation head, George Home, reported that the political action resolution adopted by the Western District convention of that week placed Mine Mill in opposition to the whole purpose of these conferences.

At the Mine Mill Convention, Trail delegate Al King, who presented the resolution to the delegates on behalf of the Committee, expressed fear that the CCF-CLC action would result in a new "party" — a farmer-labor party, he warned. The resolution adopted in principle and referred to the national convention points out that "Mine Mill has clearly established its position that the trade union movement should not be tied to any one political party." It attempts to interpret the loosely worded CLC resolution as projecting not a party but "a new political alignment" which will pose not a workers' and farmers' government but an undefined "alternative government" to the present Liberal, Tory and Social Credit governments, with the modest objective of "bringing about changes in Victoria."

Hal Griffin, managing editor of the West Coast LPP press, the *Pacific Tribune*, in articles appearing in the September 12 and 19 issues, spells out the LPP position.

While it is only by its being based on the trade unions, the primary organs of the working class, that the class character of the new party is assured, Griffin argues against a "labor-based party." Griffin's prescription is a "broader approach to unity," he is for a "strong, popular movement."

To the task of building a party, a political organization with a program that demarks it from all others and which presents itself as a distinct political force in contest with all others for political office, Griffin counterposes the creation of a "popular alternative." The whole concept of a party is anathema to Griffin. According to him the CCF lost its dynamism, not when it squandered away its precious class program but much earlier, when it became a party in 1933.

"The CCF itself was launched as a movement in 1932. Then increasingly the anti-unity policies of the right wing leadership prevailed. The CCF lost its dynamic qualities as a movement and crystallized as a party. But in the years 1933-41 it fell far short of government office."

And if the formation of a party as against a "popular movement," and a "popular alternative" isn't bad enough, that it be a "labor based party" would be tragedy compounded upon disaster. Despite the fact that in the days of the Socialist Party and the Canadian Labor Party there was no wide or deep labor movement in BC that the pioneer socialists could anchor onto and mobilize for support, Griffin absurdly attempts to make out that it was their correct attempt to be "labor-based" that was the source of their "failure."

"It is an historical fact," he writes, "that every labor-based party in this province from the old Socialist Party through the Federated Labor Party, and the Canadian Labor Party, to the CCF, has fallen short of government majority by its failure or inability to win major support among the farmers in the decisive rural constituencies."

Griffin's talk about mobilizing "all progressive elements," about a "broad concept of unity," and his attempts to present a labor party as narrow and sectarian, works on the illusion that effective politics in the interests of the working people will be realized by the simple process of adding up numbers of socialists, reformists, liberals with a small “1”, progressives from the Progressive Conservatives. The LPP's "popular movement" (coalition is the proper word for it) would be a composite of different class forces. Any policy agreed upon by the conflicting class forces in the coalition would of necessity always be to the right and at the expense of the real position of the socialist and labor wing.

Far from strengthening its position, labor, as part of such a coalition, would be consistently weakening and compromising itself. With the right momentarily threatening to desert to join those forces that more accurately and consistently express its views the...coalition would be continually threatening to blow apart, and under crisis could not possibly hold together. The only cement in such a coalition, would be the compromise and capitulation of the left wing to preserve unity.

The policy now being advocated by the LPP is the discredited anti-American Peoples Coalition which Buck *(LPP-CP Stalinist leader --ed.)* wrote would even encompass

capitalists — "those capitalists (sic!) who put the interests of the nation before profit." It is the Popular Front *(multi-class action strategy of Stalinist fame sbmitting labor to bourgeois or petty-bourgeois coalitions --ed.)* of the Thirties which we were told was going to stop war and fascism but which history records did neither. It's a warmed over hash of the LPP's post-war Liberal-Labor coalition which the Buck leadership said it repudiated following the Khrushchev revelations.

When everything is boiled down it is apparent that the position of the LPP is only a high falutin', sophisticated, theorized version the opportunistic tendencies expressed by Jodoin and Coldwell. There just isn't any substitute for a labor party based on the unions and oriented towards the establishment of a workers' and farmers' government.

(end)

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Fusion of CCF With Unions Will it Result in Right Turn?

By PETER MILFORD

The trade union panel at the Ontario CCF convention held in Toronto October 13 and 14 threw some insight on a question that has been raised in CCF ranks since the first day the formation of a labor party, with the CCF as a part, was projected.

Won't the coming together of the trade unions and the CCF, in a period of relative absence of rank and file participation in the former or in both bodies, result in the polluting or watering down of what little socialist content the CCF has given to the Canadian political scene?

In view of the adoption by a CCF national convention of the reformist Winnipeg Declaration, the almost complete identity in most parts of Canada of the CCF and the trade union brass, and the expulsion or withdrawal of the bulk of socialists from the CCF, it may be hard to grasp such a concept. But it is widely posed in the West where the left retains some influence in the CCF and the CCF continues to have a certain aura of socialism around it.

The trade union panel's discussion of the Rights of Labor plank in the CCF provincial program and the report to the delegates struck most of the few sparks seen in an otherwise dull convention. About 70 attended this panel. There were few CCFers as such, almost all were trade unionists, for the most part from the top hierarchy and secondary layers of the trade union leadership.

Steel international representative, William Sefton challenged that the whole non-committal plank should be rewritten and in place of vagaries and generalities of the type that the Liberals, Tories and Social Credit so continually indulge in, definite statements, definite figures, definite commitments, be inserted. Then the panel went about the job of reshaping the program by nailing it down, making it concrete, anti-capitalist, around which struggle, class struggles, can unfold.

Where it merely made the record for an increased minimum wage — no definite figure — the panel came out firmly for the Ontario Federation of Labor minimum wage figure of $1.25 an hour. The program merely recorded that, like all the boss parties and the bosses themselves, the CCF was for a progressive reduction of the legal work week, from the present 48 hours in Ontario in the direction of establishing a 40-hour week. There was vigorous support in the panel for the 30-hour week for 40 hours pay and over all agreement that the word progressive be struck out committing the CCF to implement an immediate reduction of the work week to 40 hours.

The panel's proposal to commit the CCF to a minimum wage of $1.25 provoked a leading delegate to say that we must be honest with the people, if the party were placed in power next year in wealthy Ontario, it would be impossible to implement the proposal. Sefton challenged whether the national council of the CCF was dishonest in endorsing the CLC's proposal for minimum wages. Provincial secretary Ken Bryden chipped in that the national council endorsed the 28-point program as a statement of general aims. "It did not commit itself to any one detail." But the delegates approved the panel's recommendation.

The convention also accepted the panel's proposal that the Ontario CCF be committed to immediate, instead of the proposed "progressive" reduction of the work week from 48 to 40 hours—a plank in the full employment program of the CLC. W. G. Davies, MLA for Moose Jaw and executive secretary of the Saskatchewan CLC attempted to have the Saskatchewan CCF government legislate a 40-hour week last spring only to see his motion defeated by parliamentary trickery.

Over the past years an Ontario CCF convention rarely missed an opportunity to red-bait. This year's convention, however, unanimously passed a resolution expressing its solidarity with strikers in Sudbury and Hamilton. It made no differentiation between the Steelworkers and Mine Mill, usually labelled "communist-dominated."

The trade union brass, of course, did not pose a socialist perspective and, of course—neither did those in the leadership of the Ontario CCF. If the CCF brass still on the odd occasion talk about a socialist future they have no program that gives leadership or even moves in that direction. They and the trade union brass come out of the same mold. Neither now nor in the emerging labor party will they play a principled left role. The union brass, at this convention, was willing to make deals with the right wing whenever possible. However, unlike the middle class CCFers, the trade union brass is under working class pressure and its positions as demonstrated at this convention must more sensitively reflect this class struggle pressure.

According to I. F. McRae, president of the Canadian Manufacturers Association, "a union-sponsored political party organized on a class basis and espousing some form of socialism cannot be good for Canada." And of course what is good for Canada is good for CMA. Lester Pearson, leader of the capitalist Liberal Party, says he doesn't "think it is a good thing to have political parties based on class groups." All three pictured here, from left to right, Claude Jodoin, head of the Canadian Labor Congress. M. J. Coldwell of the CCF, and Tim Buck of the Labor Progressive Party, agree with McRae and Pearson.

The Workers Vanguard

#35-Oct.1958

Your Help Needed Now To Raise $2,000 Fund

THE EDITORS

Through our second national tour the VANGUARD has been established as the fastest growing socialist paper in America. Over 1,700 new subscriptions were won. For the first time the VANGUARD has a truly national circulation. We now have a modest subscription base in Winnipeg and quite a sizeable one in Vancouver. Even more—old connections were strengthened and new ones established which assures us that the good work will be consolidated and expanded upon by socialists who are right on the spot.

We are pleased with the Vanguard's situation circulation-wise. The warm reception, the words of encouragement and fraternal criticism and advice from our constant readers, and now our new readers, inspire us with confidence that we can make the Vanguard ever more effective in the bringing together of Canada's socialists for the clarification of their views and experiences and their regroupment—so essential to the forward march to a socialist Canada.

We now need your aid. We need $2,000 to see us through the next year. Our subscription rate does not even begin to pay for the mechanical costs of production and circulation. Even $2,000 is not enough. But it is a healthy down payment and will leave us free to go about the more essential work of widening and improving the impact of the VANGUARD.

The next issue sees us enter our third year of publication. Last year we set our objective at $1,750 which you managed to send into us from scores of different places and in varying amounts following a slight extension of our two-month deadline. This year we have raised our sights and with your help will have the $2,000 here on December 15, at the close of a two-month campaign which commenced October 15.

Send us your donation right away, along with your ideas on how to make the Vanguard a more effective participant in the discussions now unfolding around the new labor party, the struggle against radio-active fall-out and A bomb war, and the building of a socialist movement in Canada. Possibly you will agree with us that the next step ahead is to make it possible to publish the Vanguard as a twice monthly or expand it on its present monthly basis by adding a two-page insert. We are anticipating your response to this appeal in our next mail.

The Workers Vanguard #35 - Oct. 1958

Stood on Rights, Convicted Vag' Had $600 Bank Book

By PAUL KANE

"If this case stands then the rights of every one of you here and of every citizen in this city are in danger," declared Unitarian minister Reverend W. P. Jenkins, from his pulpit on October 26. If the conviction of 24-year-old Ernest Tate for vagrancy by a Toronto police court magistrate is upheld, he challenged, "it will give the police an added arrogance to that which they have already acquired as the result of some other things that happened over the years past."

Tate, just arrived in Toronto from a trans-Canada tour on behalf of the Socialist Educational League, was accosted on the street by two policemen early Thanksgiving morning a few hundred yards from his home. Like thousands of other workers who have been harrassed in this way by the police, he identified himself and explained his presence. When he declined to open his suitcase, which he declared contained personal effects, other than in the presence of his lawyer, he was whisked away to a station. There the suitcase was forcibly taken from him, opened, and despite the verification of his statement that it contained only personal effects, a charge of vagrancy laid against him.

Irving Himel, executive secretary of the Association for Civil Liberties, represented Tate at the trial split over two days. From the evidence given by the arresting officers, under Himel's prodding, there isn't a worker in the city of Toronto who isn't a suspect as a vagrant. Tate was a suspect according to police testimony because he was "roughly dressed"—he was wearing a leather windbreaker and slacks. Because of the time and the area where he was walking — 5:30 in the morning across the street from City Park Apartments, one of the poshest in the Toronto area. And because he was unemployed.

When Himel asked the officer if it was a crime to be unemployed the officer replied—well, yes, but perhaps not at this time of more general unemployment. When asked what made him decide that Tate had no visible means of support, the officer made no answer. As it happened, Tate had on his person a bank book showing he had a savings account of more than $600, a valuable wrist watch, and a good suitcase.

Despite the evidence as brought out in the trial revealing the arrogance of the police and the groundlessness of the charge (Himel exposed the widely conflicting evidence of the two officers which varied on four important counts) Magistrate Rogers upheld the police action. He convicted Tate for vagrancy and fined him $5 or 10 days. Himel immediately informed the press that the conviction would be appealed.

Mr. Jenkins in his sermon urged change of the Ontario Vagrancy Law which he stated is a reversal of the very fundamental axiom that a citizen is innocent until proved guilty. "The law charges the citizen with proving his innocence in the presence of police," he said.

ERNEST TATE
"The man who wouldn't open his suitcase"

Nov 5, 1958

Dear Bunny and Bruce

Never seem to keep my promise do I--

Here is another short note on another matter.

Gerry Healy will be arriving in Montreal on November 19th at 17.20 hours. Havent heard from south just how tight an agenda we will have and havent heard from him how he feels about it yet but I have written him that if possible it would be good if he could stay over there for 24 hours let us say if a meeting could be arranged for him with the Council of Socialist clubs or any other ideas you may have. So at this stage cannot comit him but could you thiink the matter out raise it as a tentative suggestion. If we can carry it off we need to make moves now but no hard commitments

Waiting to hear from you first opportunity. Of course Healy is an important man --leader amongst leftist in LP--here is a clipping to show ~~kkx~~ around---the man off to Zurich

Will keep you posted

want clipping back of course

warmest regards

Ross

Make Toronto a union town. For an administration that sets the pace in good relations with its employees and does not ape and embolden anti-labor corporations by threatening the fire fighters with the courts and the civic employees with scabs and compulsory arbitration. Vote the labor slate across the city.

Protest the arrogance of the Toronto police, their infringements on the rights of citizens, their high-handed assumption of the authority of the courts. Protest the harsh treatment and stringent sentences handed down by the courts, particularly against non-English speaking citizens.

MEET THE CANDIDATES

KEN SUTHERLAND

Most of the 33-year-old Ken Sutherland's adult years have been spent active in the cause of the working class in Montreal, and for the past decade in the Toronto area.

Sutherland is a steelworker. But like thousands of others now suffering from one of the periodic crises that are built into the capitalist system, he is unemployed. He has worked in shops organized by the AFL Sheet Metalworkers Union and by the CIO Steelworkers Union, and has been chosen by his fellow workers to represent them on local executive bodies and on the Toronto and District Labor Council.

Sutherland joined the fight for a better world when quite young and quickly became the English-speaking organizer of the Montreal CCF youth. He joined the CCF in 1944 and after another four years experience in the labor and socialist movement found his way to the Revolutionary Workers Party where he was active in the campaigns to elect Ross Dowson mayor of Toronto. He is a member of the Socialist Educational League and is a frequent speaker on their platform.

ROSS DOWSON for Board of Control and **KEN SUTHERLAND** for Alderman Ward 6 would be pleased to meet you at a social evening on

SAT., NOV. 29, at 8 p.m.

ODDFELLOWS HALL

125 Broadview Ave.

Peter Metheus and Joe Rosenblatt, sponsored by the Socialist Educational League as Aldermen for Ward 1 will also be there.

For Controller

DOWSON

Read and subscribe to

WORKERS' VANGUARD

50 cents a year — 12 issues

569 YONGE STREET • TORONTO

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Vote SOCIALIST

ELECT

KEN SUTHERLAND

WARD 6

ALDERMAN

Sponsored by the Socialist Educational League — 569 Yonge Street

Telephone WA. 5-5174

What's At Stake?

Toronto, and every one of its nine wards, is an integral part of Canada and of the world. What is happening in this world and what is the impact on each one of us ?

A few months ago, the Tory deputy minister of defence stated that Canada's armed forces were in a state of "universal readiness," due to the situation in the Middle East. The **Toronto Star** editors wrote "the peace of the world at this moment hangs on a slender and unreliable thread." Last month it was the Far East. "All the elements of a Third World War are involved," the situation "represents the greatest threat to peace since the Second World War," said Liberal Leader Pearson.

We were told last winter's unemployment, the most widespread since the depression years, would melt away with the Spring. But the economy never really got out of the sag. Common opinion is that Canada this coming winter will suffer massive unemployment — well over a million.

Not completely blind and deaf to the dangers thundering all around them, the Tory-Liberal administration and its hangers-on, as they drone on about parking lots and make deals over the breaking of the zoning by-laws, have conceded that these matters are of some importance to Torontonians.

Their Answer . . .

They have announced a winter work plan. It will provide a mere 2,048 men employment for just 20 weeks. To meet the threat of a guided missile H Bomb war, which will blast all their little plans and the entire city into oblivion, they are spending funds and exhorting action in civil defence. But there is no defence. Toronto would be lucky to have 12 minutes warning, says the inventor of radar.

They have no program to meet the real problems that are coming to a head. Their vision is blocked by their acceptance of the fundamental, existing state of affairs — capitalism — a society which has war and depression embedded right into it.

What is required is a program that expresses, that defends and advances, the real needs and aspirations of the people. The Socialist Educational League presents such a program. It envisions a new world—a society of peace and freedom, a society of co-operative labor, not for profit but for humanity. Vote for this program by voting for the SEL-sponsored candidates.

Vote Yes on the plebiscite to extend the franchise. Eliminate the restriction to British subjects and the bar from voting on money by-laws and for the Board of Education. End the multiple vote. For amalgamation, an elected Metro mayor, and representation by population.

More subsidized low-cost, low-rental housing. Get on with the Moss and Alexander Park projects. Enforce the building and health by-laws. Seize the properties of uncooperative landlords and charge the repairs on their tax bills. Extend the city's low interest bearing, long-term loans for small homeowners. End the domination of civic government by vested property interests.

Block evictions and repossessions of the household goods of workers who have used up their unemployment insurance benefits, with city emergency funds. For the maintenance of the Psychiatric Clinic of the Juvenile Court until such times as Metro or the province will sustain it. For the return of the pitiful increases that Metro and City Welfare committees so callously confiscated from the old age pensioners under their care.

Mobilize the citizens of Toronto to press the provincial and federal governments to: (1) legislate a moratorium on debt, (2) shorten the legal work-week from 48 hours to 40 and downward with the same take-home pay, thus providing jobs for thousands, (3) extend unemployment insurance for the full period of unemployment, (4) launch a vast program of construction of schools, hospitals, etc., (5) recognize China and promote trade with all who wish Canadian goods.

Tax the wealthy corporations, not the small homeowners. Remove the Metro area properties assessed at 300 million dollars from the tax exempt list. Tax private schools, Legion Halls, church properties, hospitals, etc. Let subsidies to worthy organizations be decided upon openly and above board, not by backdoor deals or on the basis of the value of property holdings. Block all attempts to eliminate the graduated tax exemption on owner-occupied homes and to impose a further tax burden on homeowners compelled to sublet flats.

For municipal ownership of Consumers Gas and gas distribution at cost. No tribute to the stock manipulators and racketeers who were handed the Trans-Canada pipeline by Liberal St. Laurent and Tory Frost. Open the meetings and open the books of all the publicly-owned commissions. End the domination of the commissions by defeated candidates and friends of the administration; for workers' control of T.T.C.

The Workers Vanguard

Vol. 3, No. 12(36) Mid-November, 1958 23 Toronto—Price 5 cents

TORONTO UNIONISTS DEBATE ELECTIONS

The last meeting of the Toronto and District Labor Council before the December 1st municipal election "turned back the clock to the hectic Communist debates of the past," as one daily paper reported. "It became embroiled in an old-time political controversy," as another put it.

The controversy arose not over the question of presenting an alternative labor slate to the Liberal-Tory combination that has dominated Toronto municipal affairs for decades. That had been quashed at a previous meeting. UAW Local 112's demand that the council contest all posts with a labor slate was defeated with the cry of lack of funds.

And it was not over the endorsation of Controller Ford Brand for mayor. Brand's rotten anti-union record in the city council's negotiations with the firemen and civic employees caused the president of Local 43 of the Civic Employees Union to express doubts that Brand will "pull a single vote" from the local's 3,500 members and that any member will want to give a "single copper" to help his election. Brand's endorsation had been slipped through several meetings earlier by means of an unprecedented interim PEC report.

The November 13th conflict broke out over the endorsation of one man, contesting one of the 36 of the total 41 municipal offices that the council had endorsed no one for. Well known Toronto unionist, delegate Hugh Dowson is contesting an aldermanic seat in Ward 2, left open by council-endorsed William Dennison who is seeking a seat on the Board of Control this year. Local 112 of the UAW backed Dowson's candidature and its motion that the council do likewise was before the assembly.

The Political Education Committee recommended non-endorsation, following a McCarthyite "investigation" demanded by council vice-president and Ontario Federation president David Archer who at the previous meeting falsely challenged Hugh Dowson with having been a candidate of the Trotskyite party in the past.

The committee confronted the delegates with the unprecedented argument that its endorsation.

See UNIONISTS—page 2

VOTE LABOUR . . . VOTE SOCIALIST

Dowson Controller

Sutherland — Alderman Ward 6

Metheus Rosenblatt — Aldermen Ward 1

Ward 1 Ward 6

ROSS DOWSON for Board of Control heads the list of Socialist Educational League sponsored candidates. He is a labor journalist and in former years contested the mayoralty. KEN SUTHERLAND for alderman in Ward 6 is a sheet-metal worker with an active union record, presently unemployed. JOE ROSENBLATT and PETER METHEUS are the labor aldermanic slate in Ward 1. Both are members of Local 1111 of the Steelworkers. Metheus represents his local on the Labor Council.

Program of Action

- Vote YES — Extend the Franchise
- More Subsidized Low-Cost Housing
- Block Evictions and Repossessions
- Tax the Wealthy Corporations
- Municipal Ownership of Gas
- Protest Police Arrogance
- Make Toronto a Union Town

What is at Stake in the 1958 Elections!

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Tax the Wealthy!

Property taxation — the major source of civic revenue — is inequitable, with the small homeowner carrying the main burden, and industry, the most able to pay, travelling light. Property with an assessed value of almost 300 million dollars in the Metro area is tax exempt. Half of it is completely tax free and for the rest fancy deals have been worked out by this and previous boss administrations.

Many of these exemptions are illegal, have been granted surreptitiously, no favors asked, of course, by the political machines. Upon the protest of other privately subsidized but taxed residences for working girls, it has been revealed that the extensive properties of the WCTU and the YWCA, which operate commercial establishments, are tax exempt. Some are exempt through provincial legislation, others are under the charity wing of the Assessment Act which you can be sure does not cover union halls, etc.

All such arrangements should be disclosed to the public. Private schools, Legion halls, church properties, hospitals should be taxed. If the taxpayers wish to subsidize such institutions let it be discussed and decided upon openly, and not on the extent of investment in property but upon social usefulness.

The Royal York Hotel, in lieu of a business tax, pays only $10,000 a year on the hotel itself and only $7,500 on its steam plant which sells steam to other commercial establishments. Just last year city councillors who protested a subsidy to the municipally owned TTC and charge it $1,179 a year for a loop in High Park, casually leased a valuable piece of city property to the Royal York at 10 cents a year.

Instead of putting the main

See PROGRAM—page 4

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The Vanguard

Vol. 3, No. 12(36) Mid-November, 1958

UNIONISTS

(Continued from page 1)

heretofore freely granted to any and all CCFers, and in the past to such candidates as Stewart Smith, etc., would "in effect place him (Dowson) in a public position in which he can interpret policy and speak with the blessing and support of this council." Dowson hit the floor to challenge this. Endorsation was on the basis of acceptance of the council's municipal program and the principle of independent labor political action. Failure to back his candidature was in effect telling Ward 2's workers to vote for one or the other hack of the bosses' political machines.

Emboldened by the committee, the red baiters took the floor. One of them, Phillip Rowley, screamed that the Stalinists and Trotskyists are wings of the same party seeking to form a front to destroy the labor movement and impose a totalitarian regime. Committee member Walker and Delegate Rosen whined that Dowson should not have put them on the spot, that he "should have withdrawn before stirring up this kind of discussion which can be so divisive."

Steel delegate Charles Lee charged the red baiters with doing "what the RCMP does and what the Soviet NKVD does—that is what we're doing when we carry on the sort of red-baiting we're hearing tonight." Nat French, chairman of Local 112's and the UAW Toronto area political action committees, upheld Dowson's endorsation. "There should be room in the labor movement for all the workers, not just those in the ranks of the CCF. The Winnipeg convention of the CLC said it was necessary for labor to broaden its base and provide for a realignment of political forces. The policy of the congress," he said, "demands that the political philosophy of candidates should not be adherents of one party alone."

Except for President Larry Sheffe, Local 112's delegates stood firm, with a scattering of other delegates, behind the motion that Dowson be endorsed, as it went down to defeat. Both UAW local 112 and Steel local 1111 have taken a stand that they will give no funds to candidates that fail to campaign openly as CCF or labor candidates.

#36- Nov 1958

Vanguard Drive Rolling Forward

The response to our drive to put a $2,000 financial base under the Vanguard by December 15 has been very good. Here is a letter we just received from a new reader in Orillia, Ontario. We don't have to add anything—we just need more such letters.

I am enclosing $2.00 as a donation for the VANGUARD, hoping that it will help in some way . . . I only hope that each of your readers will donate $2.00. If they would then the VANGUARD would be well on the way, because I think you have a lot of readers. I look forward to the paper each month myself."

A very dynamic socialist in the interior of BC has just sent us $10 —$3.50 is for subscriptions and the balance she designates as a donation to the drive. Many thnaks. It is work like this that puts a base under the Vanguard.

Toronto is by no means taking a back seat. One veteran of the socialist movement for some 40 years gave us $50.00. Unable to put leaflets in doors now like our youthful comrades, he contributes where he can. Even though unemployed, another friend has already given the paper $35.00. And many more of the supporters whom the Toronto campaigners have seen have indicated that they will be giving money by December 15.

That's the kind of response we appreciate. It indicates to your campaign manager that we're going to reach the $2,000 goal by deadline.

The score stands as follows as of November 24:

Toronto	$ 829.00
Vancouver	310.00
Other parts of Canada	102.40
Total	$1341.40

UNIONS SUPPORT TATE CASE APPEAL

The January issue of THE GAUGE, published by Local 796 of the International Union of Operating Engineers carried an excellent article by Ernest Tate whom the press refers to as "the man who wouldn't open his suitcase" when accosted by police a few months ago on a Toronto street. Tate has appealed his conviction as a vagrant by a Toronto Magistrate's Court through Irving Himel, secretary of the Association for Civil Liberties. He told a membership meeting of Local 796 that the case would come before the Ontario Appeals Court some time in February. By unanimous vote the meeting donated $25 to help in the costs and asked to be kept informed should further aid be required.

A general meeting of Local 514 of the United Electrical Workers Union, encompassing the employees of Amalgamated Electric and other shops, gave Tate a spirited reception. The local donated $100 to aid in the case. Since Tate's principled stand against police arrogance and assumption of powers which are not theirs, several citizens, through the letters to the editor columns of the daily press, have testified to infringements of their civil rights by Toronto police.

December 9, 1958

Dear Bruce;

I had a long talk with Bunny when she was here and of course since it concerns the movement some aspects of our problems there were discussed on the political committee.

Of course I was very sorry to hear about the deterioration of your and Bunny's relations--both from the interests of our work in the Montreal area which I know all of us want to see continue to prosper and from your and ourown personal interests. While it is true that we never know one another as well personally as we do politically, and it would appear that our association is purely political, this is only the surface appearance of things. The aim of our struggle is to satisfy and to allow to freely and fully flourish the human personailty and human relations. As important as the situation in Montrealis to us all in our efforts to build the party, it is ~~xxxx

December 28, 1958

Dear Bunny;

Jerry has just raised a point with me that I think we should consider--it has to do with the periodical that the Regroupment Forum there was going to put out.

I gather that the Counscil is directed towards carrying out its own projec project--the bulletin that you mentioned they are publishing with Henri's document and other things in it. I gather that what else there was around the forum is incapable of putting out the periodical and as things now stand it will never see the light of day.

What do you think of our putting it out here from Toronto --the first issue on our own resources and seeing what gives with it. Of course we would need the material that has been submitted to it so far--Reg's Irvine's etc. We dont want to sink what there is left of the forum by taking its one immedaite project away from it but perhaps they would be relieved. What do you think of this idea and if you agree how should we got about it?

Looking forard to hearing from you on this just as soon as possible.

warmest regards

Ross

WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

162

THE NEXT FEW DAYS OF THE NEWFOUNDLAND LOGGERS' STRIKE, FROM WHERE WE SEE IT, ARE CRUCIAL ONES.

Whether the **heroic** battle of the IWA is going to be won, or, whether the whipped-up forces of reaction overwhelm it and strike a frightening blow to cross-Canada labor.

FINANCIAL AID IS NOT ENOUGH!

EXPRESSIONS OF SOLIDARITY WILL NOW ACHIEVE NOTHING!

WHAT IS NEEDED IS ------- ACTION

A DEMONSTRATION OF THE FORCES OF ORGANIZED LABOR FROM THEIR POSITIONS OF STRENGTH--------

for a

One Day General Holiday

of all-Canadian labor in solidarity with the loggers would set the pulp and paper bosses, the Liberals, the Tories, the RCMP and the cabal of church, Legion officials and anti-union elements back on their heels----and consolidate the forces of the IWA to WIN.

published by the
Socialist Educational League
569 Yonge Street
Toronto

I.W.A. LOGGERS HOLD FIRM IN GREATEST SIT-DOWN STRIKE SINCE 30's — IT'S 100% EFFECTIVE

INTERNATIONAL WOODWORKERS OF AMERICA
I.W. of A.
DISTRICT No. 2
OFFICIAL
PUBLICATION
IWA NEWS
SPECIAL STRIKE EDITION
7 TORONTO, JANUARY, 1959

GOVERNMENT BOARD UNANIMOUSLY BACKS PAY BOOSTS – URGES END TO 60-HOUR WEEK

The camps of the Anglo-Newfoundland Development Company are ominously silent, except for the cheering of its striking loggers. No logs are moving to its giant pulp mill. For the loggers have embarked on the first really big sitdown strike anywhere on the Continent since the early thirties. It's the first woods strike ever for the pulp woodlands of Canada's tenth province.

NOT GOING TO PIONEER REDUCTION OF 60-HOUR WEEK

The strike came quickly on the heels of the Company's rejection of the Conciliation Board Report which unanimously urged an end to the sixty-hour work week and to raise the base rate from $1.05 to $1.22 in a two-year contract.

The IWA accepted the Board's report — the Company rejected it out of hand. "We are not going to pioneer in the reduction of the sixty-hour work week", the President of the Company declared over and over again. He offered the loggers nothing — just nothing. They made no suggestions; no counter proposals.

COMPANY-COURTS HALT VOTE

The IWA immediately called for a democratic strike vote. Ballots were on their way to the camps. Before balloting was hardly under way, a court injunction was granted to stop IWA representatives from going to the camps to take the vote. The Company had gone to the Courts; they sought the hated injunction to prevent the democratic processes from working in their operations. While the law of the Province says that a strike vote must be taken prior to a strike, the Company used the courts to make it impossible for such a strike vote to be carried out. Already, IWA representatives are arraigned before the courts for a violation of the injunction — the vote went on. 98% or more of the loggers who had an opportunity of casting a vote did so for immediate strike action, to back up the demands of their organization to win the Conciliation Board award . . . which even the Company's own nominee to the Board had recommended.

CONGRESS SUPPORTS LOGGERS' CAUSE

The IWA loggers' strike in Newfoundland has already received wide-spread support. From Claude Jodoin — the leader of the Congress, came a statement that the Congress would fully support the great efforts and cause of the IWA in lowering the infamous sixty-hour work week and establishing a proper wage and living standard.

The Congress President came to the support of the Newfoundland loggers within hours of the complete shutdown of the camps. Likewise from British Columbia came support from IWA District No. 1. Joe Morris, District President, pledged full support. So did the Newfoundland Federation of Labour composed of all the Unions in the Province of Newfoundland. Being close at hand they fully realize the tremendous efforts being put forward by the IWA and of the great need to win the strike against the pulp barons of that Province. And, of course, from the International Headquarters of the IWA came immediate word from President Hartung that the Officers and Membership of the entire International would be supporting the strike to a complete victory.

BACKS STRIKE

CLAUDE JODOIN

Company Blocks Legal Strike Vote!

Newfoundland labour law requires a vote before a strike is called. It's a good law . . . except for the AND Co. They obtained an injunction from the Nfld. Supreme Court preventing IWA representatives from "tresspassing" on Company property to take the strike vote. But the vote went on.

The IWA appointed a SPECIAL PUBLIC COMMITTEE to count the vote. On it were Charles Snow, Mayor of Windsor, Nfld.; a notary public and the deputy federal sheriff. They certified the ballots counted to be 98% in favour of a strike.

Only HUNGER CAN BEAT US!

The striking loggers are "holed up" in their camps. They have no intention of leaving them. But far away in the outports of Newfoundland their families are awaiting. Many of them have been without work for months. They have no backlog of savings. Said one, "We're in this struggle to the bitter end. We'll fight till hell freezes over. This Company can never beat us. Only hunger can do that."

Thus was summed up by a logger himself the feeling of the workers who for over twenty years have been struggling to win proper conditions and wages for themselves and their families.

It was a spirit of defiance — a pledge to victory tinged with concern for the folks back home. For while poverty is nothing new to the Newfoundland logger, his resources are now exhausted and he is looking to his fellows in the trade union movements in Canada and the United States to help him drag the pulp-barons out of the 19th and into the 20th century; to reduce the notorious sixty-hour week and to give him a proper place in the scheme of things. "We are willing to fight this thing through", they say, "but we need help and we need it badly".

The I.W.A. has set up a Newfoundland Welfare Fund and contributions can be sent directly to Newfoundland. Fund headquarters is:

Newfoundland Loggers Welfare Fund,
c/o Local 2-254, International Woodworkers of America,
Grand Falls, Newfoundland.

DON'T LET HUNGER BEAT THE LOGGERS IN THEIR STRUGGLE FOR JUSTICE!

The Workers
Vanguard

Vol. 4, No. 2(38) Mid-January, 1959 23 Toronto—Price 5 cents

CUBANS OUST HATED BATISTA

The lush tropical island of Cuba, playground for well-heeled tourists and looting ground of American, Canadian and British financial sharks has exploded in revolution. The Cuban butcher, General Batista, who seized power in the same year as Hitler, has fled with a $300,000,000 cache.

Despite powerful military, political and economic support from the US, Britain and Canada, Batista was unable to maintain his dictatorship. Instead, big investors found the protracted civil war interfering with the flow of profits from their sugar, rum and mineral investments. Canadian insurance interests found that "riot clauses" in insurance policies were forcing them to pay out large sums of money.

The bloody Batista, whose victims are numbered in the tens of thousands, was no longer useful to them. So he was ordered to pack up and get out before he was thrown out by the Cuban people.

The Canadian government and business interests have been desperately looking around for a way to cover up the crimes flowing from their profitable interests that involve gambling, insurance, prostitution, banking, etc. The best they could pull out of the hat was Alan McNaughton, a professional gun runner and son of one of Canada's former top brass.

It turns out that McNaughton's job, while an official purchaser of arms for Batista, was all along to tip off Castro as to what military supplies were coming from Canada. The best the American imperialists could produce to cover up their long support of Batista and identify themselves with the revolution was a shin-scarred rebel and movie actor, Errol Flynn and a rebel flag waving casino-keeper, George Raft.

The Cuban revolution is yet in its early stages. The Canadian press has expressed its hopes and pleasure over the limited aims of the Fidel Castro-led movement. Philip Deane, writing from Havana for The Globe and Mail observed that Castro at one time talked about the nationalization of absentee-owned industries in Cuba and distribution of the vast plantation lands amongst the peasants. "Castro no longer speaks of nationalization," he notes, "even though some of his followers may utter the dreadful word."

The French, British, US and Canadian governments have been quick to recognize the new regime, hoping thereby to give it the stability they desire. Deane himself sees the revolution as a "most encouraging development for the West, because," he writes, "this is not a Communist onslaught on the status quo."

Castro was forced to call upon the workers to come out in a general strike in order to assure his victory. Deane wrote in the January 4th G & M; "The general strike had its desired effect—anyone thinking of challenging Castro for the succession to Batista could plainly see that the 32-year-old revolutionary leader had it in his power to keep the island paralyzed." Commenting on the relaxation of the strike, Deane points out Castro maintained it on public transport to prevent large crowds gathering in the centre of town "this would strain the rebel's resources for keeping order and they seem intent on disarming the public before the strike ends."

All the indications are that Castro is attempting to control the revolution and channel it into a middle class reform program that will leave the source of Cuba's poverty and misery—imperialism—basically intact. A provisional government has been set up with elections promised a long 1½ to 2 years away.

But the revolution that is now unfolding is a powerful blow to world imperialism. It is symbolic of the rising revolutionary tide in Latin America. Castro only represents the first stage in this rising revolutionary struggle against imperialism and its stooges.

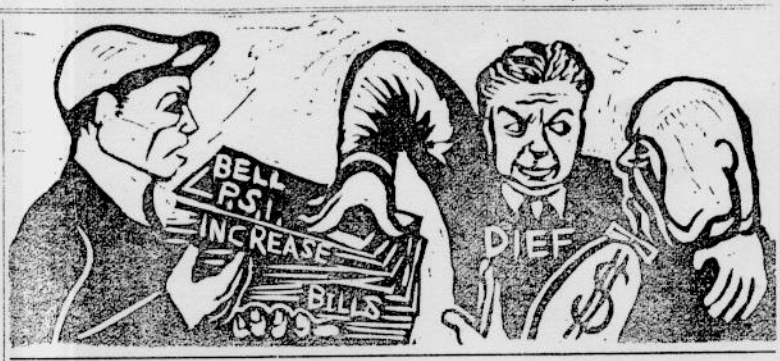
Unity Against Joblessness

Unemployed and employed autoworkers in the Detroit area are linking their forces. Dodge Local 3 UAW Unemployed Committee won enough sympathy from employed workers at the Dodge Main plant to shut it down by demonstrating in front of factory gates on Saturday mornings. Since Mid-September this plant alone has worked some 96,000 hours of overtime, enough to have rehired 300 laid-off workers had the corporation maintained a 40-hour week.

In November a city-wide committee of unemployed skilled workers, plus Chrysler jobless, picketed Solidarity House, UAW headquarters, demanding that the international officers act to ban overtime while unemployment exists.

The plant demonstrations have been so effective that the Chrysler Corporation went to court and secured a permanent anti-demonstration injunction. The unemployed workers are now setting up a city-wide organization which will discuss further steps to be taken against the injunction. Demands have been raised for the 30-hour week with no reduction in pay. There is discussion about demanding employment on public works at union wages—notably missing is the usual demand made by labor's top brass — namely more "defence" appropriations.

Dodge Local 3 Unemployed Committee has come out behind their employed comrades who struck last month against speed-up. Unemployed workers manned the picket lines and helped in the strike kitchen.



Holds Line Against More Wages OK's Price Hoists For Bosses

By PAUL MACPHERSON

All during 1958 there was much talk of "holding the line" on prices and wages by the Diefenbaker government and the daily press. It was just talk as far as prices were concerned.

The government granted a nice 17 percent increase in freight rates to the wealthy railway networks. Handsome increases were given to the highly profitable Bell Telephone Company. Physicians and Surgeons Insurance rates also climbed up again. The result is bigger profits and higher prices than ever before.

When it came to wages Big Business and its Tory political machine not only held the line, their policies even shoved down the real take-home-pay of thousands and thousands of Canadians. According to the economics and research division of the Department of Labor in Ottawa, of the 127 one-year collective bargaining agreements signed during 1958 some 16 per cent were for no wage increase at all. Some 55 per cent were for wage increases between 5 and 10 cents an hour. This leaves only 29 per cent with increases greater than a dime an hour.

During 1958 the cost of living index advanced about three points. This increase netted those few unions which have cost-of-living clauses in their contracts an extra five cents an hour. Price increases in the coming year will at least equal those of 1958. This will mean another five cents for these workers. But what about those workers without the cost-of-living clause?

Looking back at the 127 one-year agreements, we see that 71 per cent of them were for no wage increases or for something between 5 and 10 cents. Yet the cost-of-living rise during the 1958-59 period will amount to at least a 10-cent-an-hour reduction in real wages. Big Business and its Tory henchmen not only held the line against wage increases—nearly three-quarters of the workers signing one-year agreements got shoved back and thrown for a considerable loss. The same pattern is true in the case of workers covered by two and three-

See GOVT. HOLDS—page 4

Over the Top in Fund Drive

The forces gathering around the Vanguard are certainly facing the New Year with plenty of bounce. We went over the top in our drive to amass the $2,000 needed to meet the expenses we intend to incur in doing the many things we are going to do with the paper in the next year.

Contributions to the total of $2,060.99 came in. This is the highest amount that the Vanguard has raised in any of its three campaigns. For that matter it is considerably higher than our predecessor, LABOR CHALLENGE, raised in any of its seven drives to finance publication.

Toronto fell just $4 short in its objective of $1,250. Vancouver made its $400, the highest objective it has ever set itself. Prince Rupert and several points across the Prairies came through in fine style.

But the campaign was given that push over the top by one particularly large contribution and many other good donations from recent and quite new readers and friends of the Vanguard. And this was the best of all!

It's good to know that the old friends are still in there behind us, and better still to find that we are making new friends who know the importance of the Vanguard.

Of course $2,000 and $2,060.90 is a small sum considering the magnitude of the task that Canada's revolutionary socialists have set themselves. Just as a Vanguard published on a monthly basis is far from adequate. But we are laying firm foundations. This campaign reveals to us that we are gathering together slowly but firmly the material for the next leap forward. The objective conditions are also maturing. The New Year looks good! Thanks!

Accra Rally Cries . . .

FOR FREE AND UNITED AFRICA NOW

By LOU MARSH

The All-African Peoples Conference, which met in Accra, Ghana, last month, was the most representative assembly of African political, social and trade union leaders yet held. The purpose of the conference, according to its leading sponsor, Prime Minister Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, was the "planning for a final assault upon imperialism and colonialism."

Significantly, the conference chose as chairman, Tom Mboya of Kenya, the chief spokesman of the handful of Africans in the British-dominated Kenyan legislative council and the head of the Trade Union Federation. The 300 delegates from 28 countries had no disagreements with the slogan of the conference's preparatory committee, "Peoples of Africa unite—we have nothing to lose but our chains." Placards around the hall read "Ghana Welcomes Africa's Freedom Fighters," and "Hands Off Africa, Africa Must Be Free." Nkrumah closed his keynote address with the assertion that "All Africa shall be free in our life time."

Tom Mboya answered those who charge Africans are not ready for freedom. "Civilized or not civilized, ignorant or illiterate, rich or poor, we the African states deserve a government of our own choice. Let us make our own mistakes, but let us take comfort in the knowledge that they are our own mistakes. He went on to say, ". . . the question is not whether Africa will win. It is how and when the people must be organized into militant mass organizations."

This question of method provoked some debate. Nkrumah preached non-violence and a struggle limited at first to political demands. Mboya took issue with this, stating that the acts of the colonial powers, especially in Algeria, would eventually determine whether or not force should be used. Dr. F. Omar, leader of the Algerian National Liberation Front delegation, made no bones about his position. "In this our struggle to liberate Africa, should we exclude violence? After all, we have the right to take by force what belongs to us."

The conference reconciled the differences in a resolution that declared support for all forms of peaceful action to obtain independence in territories where democratic principles prevail, but also pledged backing to those who are subjected and exploited by violent means and retaliate in like fashion.

KWAME NKRUMAH

The conference agreed on an economic boycott of South Africa, no diplomatic relations, no trade and no migrant labor, until it changed its racial policy.

Through the unanimous adoption of a resolution the delegates declared their aim to be the founding of a United States of Africa. This

See ALL-AFRICAN—page 4

The Workers Vanquard

#39-Feb. 1959

Vancouver Socialist Forum Discusses Military Budget

VANCOUVER — A forum which may prove to be a history making event was held in Vancouver, February 4, when between 70 and 80 socialists and trade unionists met at the Hastings Auditorium to discuss WHAT SHOULD BE THE SOCIALIST ATTITUDE TO THE CANADIAN DEFENSE BUDGET?. Views of the three speakers—Rod Young, Hugh Clifford and Malcolm Bruce, were sufficiently diverse to draw forth active participation from the audience until after 10:30 when the meeting formally adjourned. However, interest was so high that discussion continued in groups in the hall and later over coffee.

Rod Young's central theme, in a well delivered speech, was the irrationality of "our way of life" in wasting half the national income on obsolescent armaments and in accepting the fantastic notion that weapons ever could deter warmaking. Young, a former CCF MP and now associated with the socialist monthly PRESS, felt a socialist should advocate the gradual withdrawal of our forces from Europe and the cutting of the defense budget to the bone. Then if we are able to carry forward the socialist answer we will be victorious wit. absolute disarmament.

CCF executive member Hugh Clifford drew attention to the curious public relations — advertising bureau use of psychology which had transformed the former "Ministers of War" into "Ministers of Defense." In an interestingly developed talk he came out strongly for unilateral disarmament and also suggested that to avoid flooding the labor market with demobilized soldiers it should be possible to turn these military units into work brigades for the construction of roads, bridges, etc.

Veteran revolutionary socialist Malcolm Bruce, former executive member of the CP and ex-editor of the WORKER, expressed pleasure in the establishment of a broad socialist forum in which, and through which, there could be a friendly and fruitful exchange of views among socialists without the point-making sharpness of debate.

Speaking to the topic he noted that the cold war is a high-toned moral crusade for the protection of a way of life which practises racialism and segregation, and has for allies such lovers of freedom as Franco, Syngman Rhee, and Chiang kai-Shek. The planned economy of the USSR, he emphasized, does not need and will not gain from war, but world capitalism — epitomized in the US — is caught in the same contradictions which have always led it to seek a solution by resorting to war. Building weapons which are already obsolete is wasteful but reproach is not enough and leaves the implication that if these death-dealing weapons had not become obsolete they would be justifiable whereas their only good aspect is that they have become obsolete.

The committee which organized the forum was well pleased with the response and has issued an invitation to any interested socialists to join it and assist in developing the March Forum. Secretary of the committee is W. L. McNeil, 1751 East 3rd Ave., Van-

German, British Action Against A-Missile Sites

The heavy industrial Ruhr Valley city of Dortmund became deathly silent, except for the eerie wail of plant sirens, for 10 minutes on February 4. The entire city of three-quarters of a million stopped work in protest against the projected stationing of a British rocket unit at a nearby airfield.

The trade unionists who called the strike warned that if the rocket station plan is not cancelled there will be further protest moves. The British unit is to be equipped with US Corporal missiles designed for use with atomic warheads.

In Britain, pacifists organized in the Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War, have been protesting the erection of a "secret" missile base about 100 miles from London by lying in the path of trucks carrying supplies. Some 17, among them the Rev. Michael Scott, were arrested on December 20. Refusing to accept bail or to sign a pledge that they will desist from further protests, they have been sentenced to jail where some are on a hunger strike.

Plans are underway for a second Aldermaston March to be held on March 27 to 30. Last year's march, starting at London and ending at the site of the Atomic Research Development, attracted world wide attention. It was supported by pacifists, trade unions and the entire left. Prominent among the demands appearing on the march was one calling for mass working class action, popularized by the socialist weekly Newsletter; "Black (no work on) the Bomb! Black the Bases! This year's march will start at Aldermaston and end in a mass rally in London's Trafalgar Square.

GOVT. & BOSSES GANG-UP ON LOGGERS

The Workers Vanguard

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Incite Vigilantes, Use RCMP to Hit Strike

By CLIFF COTTON

Backed up by the truncheons of the RCMP and special constables, emboldened by Tory support, Liberal Premier Smallwood of Newfoundland is enforcing to the hilt his outlawery of organized labor in that island province. A constable is dead, the jails are choked with IWA militants and sympathizers, vigilantes and mob violence rule in Grand Falls. The embattled loggers are still holding firm, along a 200 mile picket line, in their fight against a 60 hour week at $1.05 an hour in the face of a campaign that has scarcely a precedent, even in the stormiest pages of the history of anti-working class violence in America. Smallwood is using his public office to openly and shamelessly conduct the entire anti-union strategy of the two powerful English-owned pulp and paper corporations that dominate the island's economy.

Hiding behind the sanctity of the legislature, utilizing the impact of US Senatorial committee investigations, he smeared the provincial leader of the Canadian Labor Congress as a "paid representative of pimps." Over radio, the TV, and through the press, he has haranged against the IWA as "a conspiracy given to mob rule," as "highwaymen and outlaws," "communists," "gangsters," etc. "There is not enough room in Newfoundland for the government and the IWA at the same time," he barked. "One or the other must go."

From the legislature, with the enthusiastic support of the Tories, he has outlawed the IWA, deprived it of the certification that his own board had been finally compelled to grant. From the best suite in the Anglo-Newfoundland Development company's staff house, he organized the company union headed by his hand picked Liberal MLA. AND, which a few months previously had given its mill employees at Grand Falls an increase which established their base rate at $1.78 an hour, quickly signed a contract with Smallwood's union for a modest increase, to undermine the IWA.

Under Smallwood's goading, encouraged by church, Canadian legion officials, a mob in Grand Falls attacked and smashed the union's headquarters. Failing to organize union defence guards the IWA leadership was compelled to move union offices to the nearby town of Badger. The majority of church officials have echoed all of Smallwood's lies and slanders. The Catholic hierarchy has closed the schools at Badger, one of the centers of IWA resistance, depriving the strikers' children of education. The Reverend Dr. A. Brown of St. Mathews Presbyterian Church in Grand Falls, in a speech broadcast over the air in which he shouted that Newfoundland had no room for "Nazis or Marxists," roared "revenge may be justified."

Five top newspapermen, from the province's leading papers in St. Johns and Cornerbrook, have resigned in protest against the lies and slanders that have been fed Newfoundland, where almost ⅓ of the labor force is unemployed. Commenting on RCMP terror at Badger on March 11, which IWA leader Harvey Ladd characterized as "the worst demonstration of police brutality in Canadian history," one of the newsmen, Harold Horwood, pointed out that "not a single newspaper or radio in Newfoundland reported the fact that a number of loggers were clubbed into unconsciousness by the police and that three of them had to be treated in hospital."

A Toronto Star reporter and a photographer, the only press representatives on the scene, have vividly related how 66 RCMPers, armed with 18 inch truncheons, marched down the main street of Badger to suddenly wheel and launch a vicious and unprovoked

see RCMP TERROR—page 4

Support NFLD Loggers by 24 Hour Work Stoppage

Fine and strong words of solidarity with the harassed Newfoundland loggers have been uttered by the leaders of organized labor. Canadian labor should "strike back with all the militant spirit of former years," said Henry Weisbach, CLC Ontario director of education, to trade unionists at Niagara Falls. "By that I don't mean civil war," he added, "even though in Newfoundland it may be necessary."

Recalling the heroism of the Hungarian workers in the face of overwhelming odds, the CLC Newfoundland regional director has spoken of "another Budapest, with loss of life."

Everyone should support the loggers "even if we have to assess every union member in Canada a day's pay," said Douglas Hamilton, secretary-treasurer of the Ontario Federation of Labor. He added, to the cheering of Toronto labor council delegates, a general strike of at least a week by Newfoundland unions would show "the rest of the people are with the striking loggers".

No one, least of all Weisbach and Hamilton, can seriously talk about the rest of Newfoundland labor coming out on general strike to help win the loggers' struggle. Newfoundland labor has been split, vigilante groups are being incited to harass the IWA, by the Smallwood government, the paper corporations, and the RCMP.

But there are the massive unbroken ranks of Canada's 1½ million organized workers in positions of strength right across the country. They can change the relationship of forces in Newfoundland and bring colossal pressure against the entire capitalist class and their political stooges.

It won't be another Budapest. It need not even be called a strike, so that not one contract is broken. But a one day general holiday across Canada, a demonstration of power by organized labor, would show that "the rest of the people are with the striking loggers."

Translate the good words into deeds! Send out the call! Line up the forces! BC labor is already talking general strike against the repressive laws passed by the Bennett government. Locals in the Toronto area are talking of a 24 hour general holiday. Time is running out! Actions, not words, are needed!

Nothing Done To Meet Avro-Orenda Layoff

If Prime Minister Diefenbaker ever was worried what would happen to his government when he rose last month to announce the end of the Arrow jet interceptor, he need not have been. To toss another estimated 46,000 workers into the ranks of the three-quarter million unemployed, and without the slightest alternative program to meet any of their needs, could have had serious repercussions, one might think —a sitdown strike at the Avro-Orenda plants, massive demonstrations, deputations, protest marches.

Diefenbaker took the leap. Almost 450 million dollars had already gone down the drain in an attempt to prop up a sagging capitalist economy — the next stage would have cost millions more. He was faced with a massive budgetary deficit.

He couldn't have anticipated A. V. Roe's attempt to blackmail him into new orders by immediately throwing all of their 13,800 employees on the street. But he might have expected that his opposition would make hay—the trade union leaders who are attempting to get the new labor party off the ground, the CCF, the Liberals. But none of them did, because they, too, proved to have no program.

It must have been a source of considerable satisfaction for this Tory demagogue to sit back and listen to them. All the Liberals could suggest was continued expenditure of the taxpayers' funds on the Arrow. With amusement Diefenbaker contrasted these to their previous statements urging curtailment of such expenditures. Their Ontario leader procrastinated — with a mock challenge to Frost to set up a commission to investigate the matter. At a public meeting, Wintermeyer urged the finishing out of the original order and was heard to say

see NO ACTION—page 4

Belgians Strike Against Lay-offs

Belgian coal miners, faced with a somewhat similar situation to the Toronto area Avro-Orenda workers, launched a general strike last month that lasted for almost a week.

An estimated 23,000 miners walked out in the Borinage coal basin when the government announced plans to shut down "uneconomic" mines employing 5,000 of their number. On February 18 the Socialist Trade Union Federation called for a general mine strike in solidarity. Over 100,000 responded in a militant demonstration of determination not to let the government and mine operators make them the victims of a growing crisis in the industry.

The strikers did not win their demand that the shutdown be rescinded. Instead their leaders accepted a compromise under which the government will guarantee to resettle and find work for those displaced.

The strikers were bucking all the governments allied in the ropean market. The 120 million dollars which has been pressing the Belgian government to shut down "uneconomic" mines in order to meet competition of US coal being dumped on the European market. The 120 million dollars turned over to the Belgian government had been handed over to the operators in the form of a $6 a ton subsidy to lower prices instead of to retrain and re-employ displaced miners.

SIR ROY DOBSON

A. V. ROE IN PUBLIC FEED TROUGH

Continued production of the ARROW, the tossing of millions more of the taxpayers funds down the drain, is not the only solution advanced by A. V. Roe to re-open its Avro-Orenda plants on the outskirts of Toronto. It has other proposals as to how to re-employ the 13,800 workers it tossed into the street within a few hours of the government's final and formal declaration that the ARROW was dead. It has other plans as to how to re-employ the 5,000 miners and steelworkers that its Dosco holdings in Nova Scotia have dumped onto the scrap heap—and incidentally keep the gold flowing into its coffers.

All Canadians will hearken to the views of this 310 million dollar holding company, owned lock stock and barrel by the British Hawker Siddley Group Ltd. It is the third largest in the country and one of the Big Eighty in North American industry. It is a corporation with initiative, venture, courage and faith in Canada. Its stockholders have utmost confidence in it. A. V. Roe stock dropped a mere five-eighths of a point when the Malton plants closed down. "There were many who thought our move into Canada was too venturesome", said Sir Thomas Sopwith to the stockholders, but our company "is well placed to grow and prosper with Canada itself."

After all, it started off in a small way, at the very bottom, without a penny to its name, a few years ago. Just a few connections. Its Canadian chairman, Sir Roy Dobson, had to even borrow a

See A. V. ROE—page 4

Union Conference Discusses New Labor Party Problems

By PAUL MACPHERSON

The week-end conference held in Toronto February 28-March 1, by the Auto, Rubber and Textile workers unions witnessed a free exchange of ideas on the question of the new labor party. In this it was quite different from the first provincial educational conference of the Ontario Federation of Labor held in Hamilton in mid-February. There, the 600 union representatives from across the province were left a scant few hours to speak their mind after a whole series of addresses by the CCF and trade union leadership. On top of this there was considerable red-baiting, with the top brass, making it clear that they will make every effort to bar such unions as Mine Mill and the United Electrical Workers from the projected labor party.

All political viewpoints from left to right were represented at the Toronto conference and a wide variety of opinions were heard on a number of contentious issues. On the question of membership in the new party some delegates spoke strongly in favor of a screening process to keep out so-called undesirable elements, "What about the Trotskyists who were expelled in 1954?", asked one delegate.

Several delegates rose to oppose this McCarthyite policy. Delegate Roger Barnes (UAW) put forward the position that no one should be excluded from the new labor party and that "overt acts" should be the basis if anyone is to be excluded in the future. Generally there was an attitude among the delegates that membership should be open to all individuals who want to join.

Delegate Freddy Prentice (UAW), reading from the CLC-CCF pamphlet A New Political Party For Canada, drew attention to a "typographical error" in the section dealing with membership in the party. He pointed out that the phrase "liberally-minded persons" should read labor-minded persons. Prentice gave voice to a general feeling among the delegates that this party must be solidly based upon the trade union rank and file if it is ever to get anywhere. There was a strong feeling for a class party.

It has been generally conceded that the "vision" that Diefenbaker projected during the last election, though it has grown somewhat dim in the last several months, was a big factor behind the Tory sweep —cuting wide swaths in the ranks of traditional CCF supporters. Several delegates urged that the new labor party, while fighting for the immediate needs of the working people, must also project a vision, a vision of a new world— a socialist Canada. Nationalization of Avro-Orenda and production of consumer goods to meet unemployment was suggested as a good demand in this direction.

Delegate Stan Thornley (URW) said that he agreed with socialism but then went on to state that we had to be "practical" and "realistic" and that this wasn't the issue to be raised now. Later on in the session a right-winger applied the same type of argument to one of Brother Thornley's contributions.

Delegate Paul Houle (URW) pointed out that by these "practical" and "realistic" standards the early founders of all labor parties stand condemned. These "impractical" men of their day stood up for the socialist program and because of this were able to build labor parties. Since socialism is the only real solution to our problems it is necessary for all socialists in the labor party to fight to give it as much of a socialist program as possible.

Later on CCF leader Morton Lazarus attacked the idea that A. V. Roe should be nationalized to produce useful goods. He condemned the idea as wasteful and claimed that the plant couldn't be converted to making useful goods. He went on to attack the "dialecticians" for talking too much.

The conference pointed out the need for left wingers to begin to sort out their ideas in free discussion, and to organize around and fight for a socialist program which includes such planks as 30 for 40, a moratorium on debts, nationalization of war and closed-down industries, etc., etc.

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A group of wives of 79 Newfoundland strikers who were marched some 10 miles in zero temperature to be held incommunicado by the RCMP in the Grand Falls Armoury. As sons and husbands have been arrested and removed from the picket line, mothers and wives have taken their place.

The Workers Vanguard #40 - March 1959

SEL FORUM DISCUSSES 20-21 CONGRESS CPSU

Three years ago the Communist parties throughout the world were shaken by Khrushchev's revelations on Stalin. At the 20th Congress of the CPSU, a new vision was projected with Khrushchev promising a return to Leninism, to collective leadership, reforms and de-Stalinization.

At a monthly forum held under the auspices of the Socialist Educational League on February 15, at the Oddfellows Hall in Toronto, Paul MacPherson spoke on the 20 to the 21st Congress of the CPSU.

Paddy Stanton, chairman of the SEL, introduced the subject. He commented on the ebb of the revolutionary wave that laid the foundation for the rise of Stalin, the destruction of socialist democracy in the USSR, the perversion of the Marxist doctrine and the corruption of the world communist movement. The 20th Congress, he stated, marked the re-entry of the Soviet masses on to the political arena. Khruschev's revelations and promises are attempts on the part of the Soviet bureaucrats to keep on top of the situation.

The speaker, in his opening remarks, brought attention to the economic concessions projected at the 21st Congress such as a 40-hour work-week by 1962 (the present work-week is 46 hours) and its further reduction to 35 hours by 1968. Along with these flowed other concessions, such as tax cuts with the objective that all taxes will be eliminated in a few years. MacPherson also drew attention to some of the political concessions. Proposals have been presented for the gradual turning over of more functions to the peoples' organizations, such as permanent production conferences of workers and management in regulation of production.

"All of these concessions to the Soviet workers", he said " are an indication of the tremendous pressure that is being exerted by the masses on the ruling privileged strata." McPherson dealt with the possibility of the bureaucracy sharing the power with the people and its gradual disappearance. He demolished this idea. The concessions being granted by the bureaucrats are designed to strengthen and preserve their privileges, not to "share the power".

He ventured the opinion that the bloody crushing of the Hungarian peoples' struggle, the revengeful and terroristic murder of Imre Nagy, and even more recently, the treatment of Boris Pasternak, do not testify to a softening of the regime; quite the contrary!

KHRUSHCHEV

The speaker, while defending the right and even the necessity of the Soviet government to negotiate with capitalist governments and to take advantage of contradictions between them, took Khrushchev to task on the concept of peaceful co-existence. He pointed to the rising colonial revolutions that are sweeping Africa and the Middle-East, the pre-revolutionary situation in France, and the rising unemployment in Western Europe with its sharpening of the class struggle, all of which negate the concept of peaceful co-existence. He speculated however that in pursuing this policy the Communist parties would go further to the right.

The speech was ended with a message "that both the capitalists and the Soviet hierarchy have their troubles, and it is time revolutionary socialists intervened, took full advantage of the situation, and fought for a genuine peace by fighting for socialism in Canada and solidarizing themselves with the struggle for socialist democracy in the Soviet bloc."

Left Winger Infiltrates Top CCF Leadership

Pssst . . . you left wingers. Don't let this get around except of course among ourselves. We now have a big supporter. No less than an MP! Won't all those right wingers be shocked when they find out? Yes, Doug Fisher from Port Arthur is a leftist.

It was at a recently held labor party discussion conference of Auto, Rubber and Textile delegates that I first found out about Fisher. He was the guest speaker. He gave a real right wing speech—talked about how "class conflict or class war doesn't get results in Canada" —how we needed "money" and lots of it to get on the "mass media" like TV. Told us not to worry about the "policy" or program; get the dough then we will get the votes.

To illustrate his thesis Fisher used the Fort William CCF Club as an example of "too much socialist talk." He pointed out that the Fort William members almost make Donny Macdonald himself, prove he's a socialist every time he's up there.

That was Fisher's line and he had me fooled. I thought he was a real right winger. If I had left the meeting at the end of his speech I would never have found out about his leftism.

Then someone got up and said that he didn't believe that you had to water down the socialist program to win. He wanted Fisher to tell us why he didn't advocate the nationalization of A. V. Roe plant and its conversion to the production of goods that the Canadian people need? The fellow went on to say that this was straight socialism yet at the same time it would win tremendous popular support as well as saving the jobs of tens of thousands of workers.

Fisher's reply was that he personally was for nationalization of war industries but that "Hazen Argue gave the socialist answer on A. V. Roe in the House."—that is—build more obsolete war planes and get cut in on US expenditures.

After the question period was over Fisher was privately asked if he was really for the nationalization of all war industries? Fisher said "Yes" and went on to say that he was "against all war industries". Are you in favor of their conversion to peaceful production? Fisher agreed to this also.

Take heart all you left wingers! Secretly, boring from within, there is a leftist in the CCF top ranks. Who knows but that some day after we class struggle socialists have established a socialist Canada, Doug Fisher may publish his memoirs. We will learn to our surprise that he personally, secretly, agreed with all along.

The Workers Vanguard

#41 - Apr. 1959

BC Forum Discusses What to do on Bill 43

By GLEN KIRKWELL

Opening the discussion at the third Vancouver Socialist Forum, March 31st, Jack Phillips, secretary of the Civic Employees Outside Workers Union, asked how such repressive legislation as Bill 43 could be fastened on the great trade union movement of BC. Answering his own question, he was greeted with applause from the audience when he asserted that one condition was that too many trade union leaders were like radishes—red on the outside and white within.

Mr. Phillips also warned against the publicly quoted statement of the CCF leader of the opposition in the legislature that the Bill appeared to have been drafted by bunglers and well meaning amateurs. The attitudes of the trade union leadership in loud talk and no action, and of the CCF in playing down the serious consequences of the legislation had led to missed opportunities to waken the working class to the dangers. Such an opportunity had been provided March 13 when the civil servants came out on strike and when the labor movement could have called a protest strike—or holiday—coincidental with their action. "We of the labor movement," said Mr. Phillips, "on this question must close ranks and demonstrate that we are not prepared to live with Bill 43."

MALCOLM BRUCE SPEAKS

Victim of Section 98, a forerunner of Bill 43, Malcolm Bruce noted that the labor and working class political movements should not have been taken by surprise at the birth of this anti-labor legislation. "Coming events cast their shadows before," he said, "and in this case the Canadian Manufacturers Association barrage against organized labor across this country, parallel with the steadily developing economic crisis, indicated capitalism's necessity to shackle labor and render it impotent." He agreed the CCF had underestimated the gravity of the bill in their initial reaction—praised their stubborn fight against it in the legislature but pointed out the greatest danger lay in the reliance of the CCF and the trade union leadership on parliamentary and legal struggle to defeat the bill.

The fight against Bill 43, now the Labor Act, must be seen as a class question bounded by the legality of the owning class. (This must be clearly shown and all class collaboration must be renounced.) The working class has the forces to fight but they must be mobilized, which can never be done by demagogic phrase-mongering on the one hand and urging the workers to "obey the law" on the other. This law will inevitably be broken and it should be done consciously by a general strike, recognizing that the end desired by and necessary for the working class cannot be achieved if the means to that end are rejected.

Ron Irvine, executive member of the Carpenters and Joiners, New Westminster, felt the fight against Bill 43 had been lost at the last three elections when the workers had failed to elect a CCF government. In this time, too, the trade unions had been sleeping, denying the need to take political action while the CMA mobilized public opinion against them.

"In my opinion," he said, "Bill 43 contains the Canadian counterpart of the American right-to-work laws and will be used the same way. However, I do not feel, with the labor movement so divided, it is right to talk of a general strike". Mr. Irvine felt Bill 43 might possess one virtue as it could bring sufficient pressure to bear upon the working class to force the support of one political party in the next election.

A lively and widely representative forum period followed — the keynote of which was presented by all three speakers in summation: "Bill 43 must be fought on the job, and maximum working class unity developed, for this is a situation of grave concern to all persons, parties, and organizations of the working class".

The Workers Vanguard #41 - Apr 1959

Govt Liars and Lies Exposed On Strontium Fallout Perils

Deadly radioactive Strontium 90 fallout from H Bomb testing is coming down out of the atmosphere five times faster than we had heretofore been led to believe. It is more heavily concentrated in northern United States and southern Canada than anywhere else in the world, according to information that the American government had suppressed up until last month.

Following the release of this information the Canadian government took the secrecy wraps from a report of the National Health and Welfare Department that it had suppressed since mid-1958. While the US data designated southern Canada as an area of highest concentration, Canadian data revealed that up until March 1958 some northern Canadian centers were even more heavily polluted with radioactive poison.

Chicoutimi, Quebec, registered in September, 1957, the high concentration of 21.7 micromicrocuries of Strontium 90 per gram of calcium, when London, Ontario, registered 5.9. Scientists explain a wide variation in concentration, which in Chicoutimi fluctuated 16 points in four months, to varied weather conditions and the degree of concentration of calcium, which has a strong affinity for strontium, in the soil.

Despite this ominous information as to the extent of Strontium 90 polluting the atmosphere, getting into the flour we eat and the milk we drink, government spokesmen continue to belittle the radioactive danger it holds for human beings. Only nine days before the release of this startling information about the degree of pollution of Canadian soil, federal health minister Monteith informed the house that "excessive levels of Strontium 90 have occurred only on nuclear weapon testing sights of which there is none in Canada".

See STRONTIUM, page 4

STRONTIUM

(From page 1)

There is "no discernible hazard" in Canada, he said, "by Strontium 90 contamination of milk".

Denying that a special radiation measurement laboratory was being rushed into operation due to the US reports of increased radioactive fallout, Ontario Health Minister Dymond said, "we're still not convinced there is any greater fallout now than before". Confronted the next day by added data confirming the grave threat of blood and bone cancer to those living and generations not yet born from **Consumers Report** magazine, Dr. Dymond angrily thrust it aside with the comment that he was aware of the danger but could see "no point in creating fear and panic of the unknown". He then pulled out the old chestnut about the greater danger of radiation from medical treatment, which, unlike Strontium, is not continuous, not generalized and is delivered with the consent of those so exposed.

The heretofore suppressed US data, while playing down the dangers, accepts as an established fact that increased fallout will increase the incidence of bone and blood cancer amongst humans. But two Canadian scientists who have just had a nuclear reactor turned over to them at McMaster University see nothing at all to worry about. According to Dr. R. H. Tomlinson "we have no evidence at all that Strontium 90 will cause cancer. We assume Strontium radiation may have some effect but we don't know." He sees bigger matters of concern: such as the rise in the world's population.

The other partner in this team of mad scientists such as the movies sometimes portray, Dr. H. G. Thode, sees the increased radiation as beneficial, stimulating "research into genetics". Pooh-poohing concern about danger levels of radiation, he stated, "if we had a single small atom war, all present worries about radiation would become academic. The level would go out of sight almost immediately".

The deception and double-talk of government spokesmen and the ravings of mad scientists at McMasters have been effectively exposed by such outstanding physicists as 1954 Nobel prize winner in science, Dr. Linus Pauling, who in 1957 headed the list of some 9,000 of the world's most eminent scientists calling for a halt to nuclear tests.

McGill University's dean of agriculture, Dr. H. G. Dion, said at the turn of the year that if nuclear testing was stopped immediately, contamination already produced in milk and food crops will result in 2,500 to 100,000 defective children being born in the future, above the normal number of defectives. Two University of Manitoba physicists, F. M. Kelly and B. G. Hogg, claim that the five-fold increase in radio active fallout in Manitoba, revealed by a federal health department report, has made Manitoba milk unfit for consumption.

In his comments on the information just released by the US government, Dr. Linus Pauling attacked the claim that the probability of any one person being affected by two radioactive isotopes Carbon 14 and Cesium 137 was about 1 in 50,000. "This comes close to being a big lie—my estimate," he said, "is that the probability is 1 in 500 that any one individual will be seriously affected and will die of cancer or be born with gross defects . . ."

He predicted that at least 23,000 unborn US citizens would begin life as mentally defective or mentally ill persons as a result of radioactivity now in the atmosphere. At least 50,000 living US citizens in addition would develop cancer from past nuclear tests, he told the annual meeting of American Orthopsychiatric Association.

DEMAND H TESTS STOPPED AT ONCE

The TORONTO STAR, Canada's largest daily, which has been carrying a campaign for the cessation of all H Bomb tests, reports in its April 9 edition that the Vancouver Labor Council is asking the Canadian government to press for the "cessation of testing and production of nuclear weapons by the USSR, Great Britain and the US unconditionally."

On March 9 the Winnipeg City Council almost unanimously passed a resolution presented by Alderman Jacob Penner, which called upon the Diefenbaker government to take an "unequivocal and firm stand" in the UN for the banning of all further atomic test explosions.

The Workers Vanguard #42 - May 1959

Ernest Tate congratulated by his wife when on May 8 he won his appeal against a conviction as a vagrant by a Toronto police magistrate last fall. Tate's protest against arbitrary actions of Toronto police won the support of a considerable number of unions in the Toronto area including; Painters', Machinists, UE, IUE, Rubber, Operating Engineers', Street Railway and other locals. His appeal was handled by Irving Himel of the Association for Civil Liberties.

Cross Canada With Workers Vanguard

A four-day whirlwind tour of Vancouver Island netted the VANGUARD more than three score subscriptions this month. Moving through Ladysmith, Duncan, Victoria, Port Alberni and Nanaimo, Charlie and Gerry did door to door campaigning with the VANGUARD and dropped in on socialists living in the area for interesting discussions. They met an excellent reception — a worker they came across in Nanaimo joined them for a quick bit of canvassing there. Time was limited and Gerry writes that on the next occasion they will travel with more canvassers.

Over the last couple of months a squad of Vancouver friends have been canvassing door to door which has resulted in a steady flow of new subscribers in that area.

Toronto, a few months ago, picked up some 90 renewals and at the same time introduced various socialist pamphlets and magazines to our widening ranks of constant readers. Plans are now being laid by the Socialist Educational League for a short, snappy subscription campaign commencing May 15th. The objective, the prize for top campaigner, and other details, have not yet been decided. At the same time preparations are underway for an all-Ontario tour. Four SEL'ers will be pulling out of Toronto by June 1st for a three or four month jaunt which will take them from Windsor to Cornwall, to Noranda, Cochrane and Sault Ste. Marie. They will renew connections formed by last year's quick tour and make new contacts for socialism.

With the close of the forums and the fall-off in activities on the union front, this summer looks like a busy one for the Vanguard— door to door canvassing, street corner meetings, etc.

The Workers Vanguard #42 - May 1959

Passes Tax Increase onto Homeowners. Blames B of E

By KENNETH SUTHERLAND
SEL Candidate Alderman Ward 6, 1959-60

Last December saw the return of the "non party" Liberal-Tory coalition that has monopolized Toronto's political offices for years. In the five months that they have been back in power no one can say that they haven't been carrying on in the best of Liberal-Tory tradition — that is, soak the working people and reward their big business friends who put them in office.

A recent example of this type of policy has been the multiple-occupancy tax issue. In this case working people who have scraped and saved enough money to get the down payment on a home are finding a new barrier being erected by Metro Toronto politicians. The politicians see that many of these working people are forced to sublet part of their homes in order to pay the high interest rates of mortgages, speculator - inflated land costs, etc., etc. Not content with these rich rewards which their friends in the real estate outfits and finance company rackets are already reaping; the politicians have decided to get more out of us.

Metro council passed a motion asking the province for legislation to impose a multiple-occupancy tax and thus add a new burden to the workers' budget. The dictator of Metro, Mr. Fred Gardiner, cast the tie-breaking vote in favor of this motion.

However that's the music of the not so distant future. Right now homeowners and tenants are having their pocket books further assaulted by this Liberal-Tory gang in the form of a recent six mill increase in the tax rate. This means that you are going to pay $27.00 more tax this year if your home is assessed at the figure of $4500.

The mill rate for residential property is 56 mills this year. What is it for the big business interests? Only 59.7 mills. Canada Packers, Massey Harris, etc., with their millions and millions, pay only 3.7 more mills than you do on your mortgaged home, if you happen to be lucky enough to have

KEN SUTHERLAND

even a mortgaged one.

Not content with this double-barrelled attack upon us, the politicians have the gall to blame the tax increase on the school board. Thus they not only want to get more out of us but they want to reduce the quality of education that our children get.

Mayor Phillips wants classes of as high as 45 pupils to one teacher. This is "not too many" according to this Tory, who is looking for a scapegoat to blame the tax increase on. More pupils per teacher is also Controller Summerville's solution to the question despite the overwhelming evidence put forward by all educationalists in favor of 30 pupils or less to a class.

Controller Jean Newman thinks that "the board could have reduced certain things without affecting the children". What things? The implication of some of her earlier remarks was that she was thinking in terms of teachers' salaries but perhaps she was thinking of the next biggest item in the budget which is capital costs or new schools. If so, she should examine the report of the property committee of the Board of Education who state that not one but 20 Toronto schools do not meet building regulations and are entirely unsuitable for occupation. To put it bluntly, these schools are fire traps for our children.

The tax increase comes at a most embarrassing time. Under different circumstances the board might make the record that educational costs should be taken over from the municipalities by the provincial and federal governments with their wider sources of revenue. It might have gone through the motions of sending a deputation. But right now their Tory friends at Queen's Park are before the electorate and must not be compromised on this issue. It is easier to place the blame on the board of education. Even CCF controller William Dennison toed the Liberal-Tory line to demagogically accuse the board of "gouging" the public and officials of "feathering their own nests".

You will be receiving your tax bill any day now. For the first time a slip will be enclosed enumerating departmental increases. Normally Mayor Phillips and budget director Controller Jean Newman would fight over the privilege of signing such a slip. This time they fought over who should take the responsibility. It will be unsigned. But it should read—Through the courtesy of the Big Business administration at city hall which believes in taxing the poor, not the rich.

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The Workers
Vanguard

Mid-June, 1959 Vol. 4, No. 7(43) 23 Toronto—Price 5 cents

Do Not Fail Earl Laing! Build Defence Committee!

We would dearly like to read the following in tomorrow's dailies: The Canadian Congress of Labor, the Quebec Syndicates, the independents; the entire organized labor movement; Hazen Argue on behalf of the CCF, Tommy Douglas, premier of Saskatchewan, the Labor Progressive Party, the Socialist Educational League, the Socialist Party, the Socialist Labor Party, the socialists of all tendencies; the Association for Civil Liberties, church groups, citizens' committees, fraternal organizations, all liberal and labor opinion across the country has united behind the Earl Laing Defence Committee.

We wish this were true but you won't read such a report anywhere. You will search the press, your mail, and listen for this report in vain. But there should be an Earl Laing Defence Committee and we must work to that end. Under different times and with different leadership, say 25 or 35 years ago, there would have been such a committee. At this stage at least some of these organizations would have got together. With the aid of legal advisers they would be appealing, urging action by the "appropriate" authorities. Petitions would be going out across the country, mass meetings would be taking place, marches and demonstrations would be organized. Public opinion and public pressure would be mobilized to win the release of Earl Laing now charged with the murder of a Newfoundland constable fatally injured when the RCMP assaulted striking loggers at Badger, Newfoundland, March 10.

No one would dare to suggest that such actions would prejudice a fair trial or that such actions would be in contempt of court, because no one would believe that justice could in any way be served today in Newfoundland.

Everyone would know that the Newfoundland crown attorney is far from a disinterested person, that besides holding this office he sits on the board of directors of the struck Bowaters Paper Corporation. Everyone would know how the legal defence of Earl Laing has been crippled. How the Newfoundland Law Society has refused to waive rulings that would compel a lawyer from another province to write exams to qualify for admission to the provincial bar and pay fees — a procedure that would take "a couple of months". That Ontario Federation of Labor president David Archer's statement on the reluctance of the Newfoundland Bar Association to defend Laing evoked the response from several St. Johns lawyers that they would be willing to handle the case but only on condition that there is "no interference or advice" from the Woodworkers Union.

Due to the activities of an Earl Laing Defence Committee everyone would know that the lawyer finally retained by the IWA to defend IWA member Laing has since made it known that he will also be representing Premier Smallwood himself against a libel suit filed by three officials of this union which Smallwood has smeared a "conspiracy', as "communists", "gangsters", "highwaymen and outlaws".

Everyone's mind would be refreshed as to how, just a few months ago, Premier Smallwood prostituted all the organs of Newfoundland government, of law and order, to the British owned pulp and paper companies, and how his goading, encouraged by Canadian Legion officials, by such churchmen as the Reverend Dr. A. Brown in Grand Falls who screamed over the air that there was no room in Newfoundland for "Marxists or Nazis" and that "revenge may be justified," resulted in mobs attacking and smashing union headquarters, driving the IWA from town to town. It would be clear beyond a shadow of a doubt that a fair trial cannot be conducted in Newfoundland and that at the very minimum, to even talk of justice, there would have to be a change of venue.

The murderers of the constable, those who should be in the dock, are Smallwood and the paper corporations seeking to cleanse their hands of guilt at the expense of an innocent logger, seeking a conviction in order to justify their imposition of the most far-reaching and restrictive anti-labor legislation this continent has seen.

The Ontario Federation of Printing Trades Union, at its Hamilton convention last month, demanded that the murder charge, all charges against Laing be dropped. But the case is going before the courts; the noose hangs over Laing's head. To fail to protest is to share the guilt. Stop the judicial murder of Earl Laing! Organize a cross country Committee for the Defence of Earl Laing!

The Harbor Vanguard #43 - June 1959

Castro Resists U.S. Protests

Cuba's Premier Fidel Castro affirmed that "land reform is altogether a Cuban question to be decided by the exclusive privilege of national sovereignty", in reply to US State Department protests against a land reform law promulgated on June 4.

At the same time as Castro rejected US intervention against the law he has described as "the key to the revolution", he cleaned five members out of the cabinet who appear to have wilted under US pressure.

Under the new law no foreigner may own or inherit land in Cuba or no Cuban may own more than 1,000 acres of sugar land or 3,333 acres of cattle land. The plan is to split the land into 67 acre tracts for distribution to the peasants. It will be paid for with 20 year bonds bearing interest of no more than 4½ per cent.

The law would force the sale of 1.5 million acres of sugar land, huge cattle ranches, and other holdings, owned by US interests. The former US assistant secretary of state Spruille Braden, a financier with large investments in the area, labelled Castro a "dictator", "economic charlatan" and "Communist stooge".

The impact of the Cuban revolution is being felt throughout Latin America. The president of Guatemala has been compelled to launch legal proceedings against the US-owned United Fruit company which, with US State Department aid, organized a coup several years ago resulting in the overthrow of the elected government. At the same time as it announced the expropriation of certain lands from which United Fruit is evicting peasants, the government announced it is preparing an agrarian law under which uncultivated lands would be bought, and, along with government owned lands would be divided amongst the peasantry.

FIDEL CASTRO

The Workers' Vanguard #43 - June 1959

Vanguard's Ontario Tour Receives Warm Response

The all-Ontario tour being conducted by four members of the Socialist Educational League, with the objective of increasing the readership and influence of the **Vanguard**, is now in its third week.

Our first stop was Hamilton. In this important, union-conscious industrial centre, we made many new contacts with CCFers and trade unionists, as well as renewing old acquaintances. In a little over a week we sold some 200 new subscriptions and distributed around 4,000 copies of the paper to many of the key plants in the area, including the two Westinghouse plants and Stelco.

At one plant, an active union militant not only aided the distribution personally, but took a hand in organizing it. The paper was also well received at the Studebaker-Packard picket line.

Next the tour moved into Brantford, where we picked up another 50 subs. Here we distributed a CCF election rally at which national leader, M. J. Coldwell, was billed as the main speaker. As the limousine went past, Coldwell waved to the police, but although he had no greetings for those distributing the **Vanguard**, it was welcomed by those entering the meeting hall.

A somewhat different welcome was extended by the Ajax police force shortly after we arrived in town. After one of us, who was selling papers was stopped, the rest of us were escorted to the local police station, for allegedly violating some obscure by-law prohibiting canvassing without a license. When we protested that such newspapers as the **Telegram** and the **Globe and Mail** were allowed to sell without such a license, the police chief replied, "Oh, but that's different. . . ."

Before returning to Toronto and ending the first lap of the tour, we spent the remaining four or five days prior to the election, in Oshawa. In sharp and surprising contrast to other areas, particularly Hamilton, we saw little evidence of an active campaign in this CCF stronghold. Apart from selling some 40 subs in the area, in which there seemed to be little interest in politics, we distributed the main factories and made contact with some of the more militant unionists in the area, including ex-members of the LPP and left-wing CCFers.

At one plant gate, an interested worker remarked that he didn't know there were any socialists in Canada, to which one of us said, "You're all potential socialists." He replied: "That's for sure."

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The Workers Vanguard #44 July 1959

Vanguard Mobile Campaign Takes the Pulse of Sudbury

By A. HARRIS

Following the several weeks of concentrated and effective work spreading socialist ideas in the Hamilton, Brantford and Oshawa areas our mobile VANGUARD unit headed into Northern Ontario.

First stop was Barrie, a resort and army town, now becoming quite heavily industrialized. Some two to three score subs were sold by door-to-door canvassing and a considerable number of trade union militants and CCFers were seen who grabbed up various items from our plentiful stock of socialist literature and with whom we exchanged ideas and experiences. Companies like General Electric have built plants in the Barrie area hoping to escape unions and trying to get away with paying low wages. But all four of us at various times met workers who convinced us that these shops won't remain unorganized for long.

In Orillia another 50 subscribers were added to the VANGUARD's mailing list. Many old friends were pleased to see us. "Is it alright if I sell subscriptions to the paper?" one enthusiastic reader enquired. "I know four people already that want to take the paper regularly."

Over 10 days were spent campaigning in Sudbury. The long and bitter strike with Inco, the three year settlement, all of the strike's aspects, are still being discussed here. The reactions are many and varied.

The most important development arising since the strike is the question of Mine, Mill entering the Canadian Labor Congress. A referendum on this matter is being taken throughout the Mine, Mill locals in mid July. Although the Stalinist-influenced national leadership has been forced to go ahead with the referendum they are dead against entry into the CLC. They say to enter the CLC means that the United Steel Workers would take over Mine, Mill.

Instead of trying to cement solidarity with the rank and file of the USW, (many steel members in the Sudbury area are miners) the Solski group do not differentiate between the bureaucracy in steel and the rank and file members.

Many Sudbury and district workers are also critical of the new executive that swept out the Solski forces. The new president, Gillis, has not been active in the union for some years, and his tie-up with the Tory party is still being questioned. In fact the militants are wondering if the new executive will be any better than the old.

Many lessons were learned from the last strike and the workers here are determined not to let the same mistakes happen again. During the strike the forces of reaction, the clergy, the press, etc., were quick to show their true colors. One person we sold literature to said "the union underestimated the power of the company. When you strike Inco you can't afford to make mistakes — you strike and strike hard."

The recent Ontario provincial election showed that the CCF in Sudbury district has a fair amount of support, but CCFers are angry that Elmer McVey, the CCF candidate, was not endorsed by Mine, Mill.

All in all, as we campaigners see it, the fields are getting greener. A year's reading the Vanguard and life itself has brought many former readers closer to socialist ideas

Rubinstein Addresses Rallies
Support for Sobell Growing

Two Toronto audiences were given the opportunity to aid in the campaign to win justice for Morton Sobell and at the same time hear stimulating addresses by Dr. Annette Rubinstein of New York.

The entire proceeds of both meetings held on June 17 and 18 were turned over to the Sobell Committee. One meeting was sponsored by the Albert Einstein Lodge of the United Jewish Peoples Order, with James Garfinkle in the chair, and the other by the Socialist Educational League, with Ross Dowson in the chair.

Dr. Rubinstein, well-known in the US as an author and critic, and the 1958 candidate for the office of Lieutenant-Governor of New York on the United Independent Socialist ticket, spoke at the UJPO meeting on The Situation of the Left in America Today, and at the SEL meeting on Political Commitment and the Writer. A very effective and thought-provoking speaker, Dr. Rubinstein sparked interesting controversy and discussion at both assemblies.

Both audiences were informed of the rise in public interest in one of America's bitterest witch-hunt cases, and the increased possibilities of winning the release of Sobell who was sentenced to 30 years in 1951 on a trumped-up charge of "conspiring to commit espionage". Sobell was tried and convicted together with Julius and Ethel Rosenberg who were executed six years ago at the height of McCarthyite hysteria.

The list of honorary sponsors of the Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell, which is seeking a new trial or to have his sentence commuted, has been constantly increasing. Recent additions to the list, which already includes such notables as Bertrand Russell and Dr. Harold Urey, are Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr and six other prominent theologians and law professors who have sent an appeal to President Eisenhower for a commutation of Sobell's sentence.

On June 19, which marked the sixth anniversary of the Rosenberg execution, 1,000 assembled New Yorkers heard Helen Sobell, who has campaigned energetically across the continent for justice for her husband, express their confidence that "We will win". Addressed by three prominent educators, Professor Emerson of the Yale Law School, Dr. Horace M. Kallen of the New School for Social Research, and Murray Branch, professor of religion at Morehouse College, Georgia, the meeting called for an end to Sobell's nine years imprisonment. Almost $2,000 was collected to further the work of the committee.

#44-July 1959

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The Workers Vanguard #44 – July 1959

Medical Profession Threatens Boycott of National Health Plan

Health without a price tag on it, a national health plan, socialized medicine, is bad on all counts for the Canadian people, according to the organized forces of the medical profession.

"Catastrophic" consequences are already coming from the inadequate hospital and surgical plans now in operation, claimed Dr. H. E. Pearce of the University of Rochester, in an address to the Ontario Medical Association convention last month.

According to Dr. Pearce these plans are so depleting "the wards of teaching and private hospitals that they no longer have an adequate number of clinic patients to train residents (doctors)." Insured patients are paying patients. The plans are removing the guinea-pig patients, the poor and the destitute, from under the knife of the surgeons-in-training.

Not satisfied with dragging in other more run-of-the-mill arguments against socialized medicine, this year's convention waved the big stick of sabotage, of boycott, should the government attempt introduction of any plan. The OMA warned that its members will fight by "refusing to participate in such a plan". Chairman Dr. R. Galloway warned that a plan of the British type would be entirely unacceptable.

The legal profession should take a tip from the medical profession suggested Supreme Court Justice J. O. Wilson to the Vancouver Bar Association. Just as the medical profession set up insurance plans—not purely in philanthropy but partly to forestall socialized medicine, he said, there might also be a place for Blue Cross in the legal field. "If some such scheme is not adopted . . . socialized law (will be) debated in the legislatures of Canada."

Tory MP Arthur Maloney warned the assemblage that they must dispel the idea in the public mind that there is one law for the rich and one for the poor.

The Workers Vanguard

Mid-August, 1959 Vol. 4, No. 9(45) 23 Toronto—Price

Nfld Labor Party Challenges Gov't

August 9 — The mere entry of Newfoundland's organized labor movement as an independent force into the snap election called by Liberal Premier Smallwood for August 20, has made the vicious anti-labor legislation that his government rammed through the house last spring the pivotal issue.

Smallwood attempted to make the federal government's statements on Confederation Clause 29 the issue. After all, the Tories had thumped their desks in approval of all his strike-breaking acts against the woodworkers; his lynch cries, his legal ukases, his demands for reinforcements to the RCMP terror squads, etc. He demagogically charged Diefenbaker with betrayal of Newfoundland for not guaranteeing continued payments but only promising to review the 8 million

See NFLD TRADE—page 2

NFLD TRADE UNION PARTY CHALLENGES SMALLWOOD

(Continued from page 1)

dollar annual federal grant after March 31, 1962.

His forcing the election on this issue, however, only resulted in splitting the four-man Tory caucus down the middle. One half has constituted itself as the United Newfoundland Party and is betting its future on provincial antipathy to Ottawa, the other is defending the federal government on this matter.

But the Newfoundland Federation of Labor's entry of 19 candidates out of a possible 36, under the name Democratic Party, has upset all this. Shortly after election day had been named, Tory leader Hollet sent a letter to the Newfoundland Federation of Labor offering to rescind the anti-labor legislation if labor backed his party—legislation which his party had voted for with both hands and which to this day Tory federal leader Diefenbaker, though he has the power to reserve or disallow it, has declined to do.

Federation secretary-treasurer Steve Neary told the press, "We turned it down with the contempt it deserved." Nonetheless the Tories on August 6 pledged, if elected, they will repeal the legislation. The United Newfoundland Party has also suggested it will revise the labor laws. Nor has Smallwood left himself out of the picture—he has promised to take under advisement a petition presented by five Grand Falls area union leaders to change the law.

Of the 10 Democratic Party candidates nominated at a mass rally on August 6, one was provincial CCF leader Esau Thoms, eight were union officials and one a businessman. Only a year ago the Federation in Newfoundland was the only one in the country to turn thumbs down on the projected labor party. Premier Smallwood himself attended the conference to debate CLC President Claude Jodoin. He succeeded in convincing the delegates against independent labor political action.

Now the Newfoundland labor movement is conducting the first test run of the projected labor party under the leadership of Ed Finn Jr.

The Workers Vanguard

HOW AND HOW NOT TO COMBAT BC'S BILL 43

By THE EDITORS

How to turn back the Big Business inspired anti-labor drive, closing in since this spring in a massive pincer movement from British Columbia and Newfoundland, is the burning issue confronting the BC organized labor movement, and for that matter the entire working population of the country.

At this juncture this means how to remove the far reaching anti-labor law known as Bill 43 that the BC Social Credit government planked on the books this spring. Canadian Labor Congress President Claude Jodoin has declared this law to be without parallel in any Canadian province. Saskatchewan's CCF premier T. C. Douglas has said it "is more serious than the legislation passed in Newfoundland . . . (it) is the beginnings of fascism in Canada."

On April 10, just after the Social Credit government passed the bill without so much as an amendment, despite massive verbal protests from all sides, union functionaries gathered in Vancouver to discuss what to do. Five months later, just last week, on August 1st, with CLC vice-president William Dodge in attendance, some 350 delegates, representing all labor councils in BC and some 200 affiliated locals met in Vancouver to discuss the situation.

Back in April the trade union leadership concluded that the law would not be enforced, and that at any rate the unions should live with it. The Federation placed ads in the daily press warning union members "to refrain from acts which can be described as unlawful under Bill 43."

What a different picture confronted the delegates who assembled on August 1st! For the first time in BC history a union local has been found guilty of contempt. Thanks to Bill 43 which made unions legal entities the ironworkers have been compelled to pay a fine of $10,000 or have their properties seized, and a further fine of $9,000 or see their president, business agent and financial secretary languish in prison. A 9,000 member union has been fined $3,000, and the editor of its journal only released from prison on payment of $1,000 bail for an article he wrote protesting the barrage of writs and injunctions that have been hailing down on the unions.

According to Federation secretary Pat O'Neil, "More trade unionists have been hauled into court than in the nine other provinces combined; in fact we can include the US for good measure."

Many of the delegates, on strike themselves, have been compelled by Bill 43, instead of proudly marching in front of struck places of work, proclaiming their solidarity with other unions, to walk on the edges, appearing as "observers" without any noticeable identification or declaration of their purposes.

Such is the ignominous position in which the BC labor movement, perhaps the most militant section of all Canadian labor, now finds itself. Not yet satisfied with their handiwork, the chief strategists of Big Business are whipping up a campaign to further fetter the working class by strengthening Bill 43 so as to impose compulsory arbitration and thus complete the Hitlerizing process.

The inter-municipal committee of councils in the Victoria area has not only approved of a labor court but has urged the Greater Victoria councils to hold a referendum on the proposition. The SC member from Comox is promoting the setting up of a labor-management-government council. Wide publicity is being given to a proposition made earlier this year by J. V. Clyne, chairman of the board of MacMillan & Bloedel and a former Supreme Court judge, that a permanent board composed of a jurist, an economist and an expert on labor relations, be set up to advise the government, and of course influence public opinion.

There IS another side to the picture. The forces organized in the BC Federation of Labor are over 148,000 strong. Add to this number the thousands organized in the Fishermen's Union, Mine Mill, the railway brotherhoods. They dominate, they control all the basic industries of the province. They have a militant tradition. Given the lead they are prepared to fight.

Judge Manson felt their temper when he issued his slave-labor order to the courtroom of ironworkers. He commented that he detected an atmosphere of utter defiance. Only last April, as the Bill was rammed through, the union ranks declared they were prepared for a general strike. Pat O'Neil testified that 24 locals, including Local 1-217, the largest in BC, had stated their readiness for direct action to defeat the bill.

As the delegates met on August 1st some 40,000 BC unionists were on the picket lines—27,000 woodworkers had the province's biggest industry tied up, 9,000 fishermen the province's second biggest industry. The ironworkers were holding firm, printers and auto mechanics were on the line, and thousands of others threatening to strike.

What policy did the leadership present to the delegates at the BC Federation conference? When the situation cried out for a broad statement of policy for unionists to consolidate their forces around and the public to understand, the delegates met in secret—the fight against Bill 43 was taken underground.

There was one press release protesting Bill 43 and condemning the vicious use of injunctions. Since then there have been many leaks, both official and otherwise. While attempting to meet some aspects of the new situation they total up to the old policy of last April—a policy of living with the union-busting Bill 43.

According to one leak to the press, while the assembly condemned Bill 43 and the government that plotted it, it nonetheless asked the same government to pass new laws; for instance one which would slightly modify the impact of Bill 43 by compelling those who initiate court hearings on empty strike injunctions to pay the costs.

Further along this line is the position expounded by BC CCF leader Robert Strachan reported in the BC CCF News. Strachan calls for an immediate session of the legislature. Bill 43 must be repealed, Strachan declares, "to restore a legal climate fair to both sides."

Why the anti-labor SC government should call a session to reconsider legislation which is so effectively serving its purpose, to be

See GENERAL STRIKE—page 3

THE WORKERS' VANGUARD

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General Strike Proposed

(Continued from page 1)

"fair to both sides" even if such a feat were possible, Strachan does not explain. We can be sure that if and when the SC government intervenes in the conflict between labor and capital more directly than it has by passing Bill 43, and becomes susceptible to such talk as establishing a legal climate fair to both sides, it will be because things will be going badly for Big Business and well for organized labor.

We learn that the conference approved of a dime a day defence fund. It endorsed the policy of utilizing observation lines of sightseers—a loophole found in an act that bars sympathetic and secondary boycott picket lines.

This policy of attempting to work through the chinks in Bill 43, of adaptation and adjustment to the vicious legislation, apparently did not go down well with all the delegates. It would appear that for those who are of the opinion that a totally different course should be followed, a militant sounding proposal along the following lines was adopted; no strike would be settled or work resumed until all legal actions against unions or members had been quashed and all penalties, fines or indemnities imposed or pending either repaid or revoked.

It was probably in line with this that the Ironworkers asked for a special session of the court of appeal. Naturally enough, on August 7 Chief Justice DesBrisay turned down the request.

The Fishermen (independent), against whom perhaps the most far reaching and repressive court action was taken, have since returned to work—with the actior still standing and the fine and indemnity in force. So, too, have the ironworkers.

It is hard to believe should any of the striking unions be offered sizeable concessions that the grounds have been laid, or that they could even be prepared in secret, to convince them not to settle until in some way the courts have been compelled to backtrack all the way or the government to intercede and order the quashing of all the penalties. It is doubtful that even a more militant and sustained action than a 24 hour general strike could force such a headlong retreat by the forces of reaction.

A general strike, a co-ordinated massive mobilization of the mighty forces of organized labor across the province—that is just what was averted by the leadership, according to labor reporter H. Munro, writing his version of what happened at the conference in the VANCOUVER PROVINCE on August 4. "The threat of a general strike in BC was averted at the Vancouver meeting of top union officials called by the BC Federation of Labor." Quoting an unnamed top union official, Munro reports "He said the group in charge wanted to conduct the fight in a responsible manner, which accounted for the rejection of general strike proposals 'by a few hotheads'!"

IRRESPONSIBLE? HOT-HEADED?

What makes the proposal for a 24 hour general strike against Bill 43 a proposal of "hotheads?" Isn't it just an application of that old and basic union principle "In Unity There Is Strength?" Wouldn't a general strike only be an extension on a broader, stronger and more effective scale, of the sympathy strike actions organized by the BC Federation that Marine Engineer Dick Greaves told the Vancouver Labor Council last month alone achieved victory for the engineers against Northern Navigation Company?

There can be no opposition in principle to a general strike. It alone, in fact, even talk of one at this time, may prove sufficient to force the government and the courts to pull back in their vicious actions. Perhaps it will bring down the government, forcing it to go to the electorate. The BC Federation is already committed to defeat of the government. Social Credit has no mandate from the people of BC for the passing of Bill 43 nor for its subsequent enforcement. Premier Bennett will thrust labor into an election when it suits him. Why shouldn't labor force him into an election when it suits labor—on the issue of Bill 43?

Big Business has shown no tendency to stop at any means, complete misuse of injunctions, etc., to achieve its purpose. Why should organized labor hesitate to use the only effective device at its disposal — refusal to work on such terms on a province-wide basis. There isn't even a law against such an action—not yet, although SC is certainly preparing one.

There is nothing irresponsible about proposing a general strike. It is obviously just a practical matter. That is why the federation leadership have smeared the proposal as being hotheaded, irresponsible. They fear a frank and open discussion. And they fear the answer that would come from such a free discussion.

DELAY EMBOLDENS LABOR HATERS

The actions of the Federation leadership, their persistence in merely working the loopholes, their ideas to Social Credit, their empty, phony gestures of militancy; is this conducting "the fight in a responsible manner?" Responsible to what?—to whom? Certainly not to the BC and the cross-Canada labor movement.

They blocked the possibility of defeating Bill 43 last April. They are barring the chance again—now when thousands of BC workers are already on the picket line and have been for weeks. Whether an opportunity has again been lost, BC militants can determine.

One thing is clear—with each delay, with each postponement of the struggle, with each setback to labor, the Social Credit government in the service of the corporations, becomes more confident of its course, more successful in its polarization of middle class and conservative elements of the population around it—more entrenched, more bold; the courts more certain and more vigorous in their harassment of the workers.

The struggle to develop a new leadership is increasingly more urgent. The old leadership, never really equipped to meet the problems of the class struggle, was able to slip by, to ride with the current of relatively good times and easy relations with the employers and their governments. It has become increasingly soft and set in its ways.

The BC labor movement has shown its capacity to rise to the situation in the past. We have no reason to doubt its capacity to cope with the problem of building a new leadership armed with a militant program to meet the needs of today and tomorrow.

The Workers Vanguard
#45-Aug. 1959

SASK CCF DEFEATS TOP BRASS OPPOSES NUCLEAR ARMAMENT

✓ CANADA SHOULD LEAD THE WAY IN THE PRESENT TENSE WORLD SITUATION BY DISARMING UNILATERALLY, DECLARED THE MAJORITY OF THE 429 DELEGATES TO THE 24th ANNUAL SASKATCHEWAN CCF CONVENTION ON JULY 15, 16 AND 17.

✓ CCF MP'S IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS SHOULD OPPOSE AMERICAN EXTENSION OF NUCLEAR BASES TO CANADA, THEY DECIDED.

✓ WITHDRAWAL OF CANADA FROM THE NATO MILITARY ALLIANCE, PROPOSED IN ANOTHER RESOLUTION, WAS ONLY DEFEATED BY A VERY SMALL MAJORITY.

The resolution calling for unilateral disarmament, except for contributions to a UN police force, was passed over the opposition of both CCF national leader M. J. Coldwell and Saskatchewan's CCF leader and Premier T. C. Douglas. Douglas spoke vigorously in opposition to unilateral disarmament.

Only his and Coldwell's combined oratory succeeded in defeating the motion urging Canadian withdrawal from NATO. Coldwell argued that this offensive military alliance, under which Canadian forces have been planked on the borders of the USSR, equipped with nuclear-armed attack planes, is needed "to stand against totalitarian aggression."

The convention also went on record as asking the provincial government to again consider passage of a 40-hour week. Over the opposition of Premier Douglas and Health Minister Erb the delegates asked the government to reverse its policy of requiring old age pensioners to pay 50 per cent of the cost of drugs and physicians' fees for hospital visits after the fourteenth day in hospital.

While the CCF leadership across the country has been retreating on the question of nationalization, the Saskatchewan delegates passed a motion that the CCF reiterate its faith in the principle of public ownership and place greater emphasis upon the extension of this principle. They concretized the motion by affirming their belief that Canada's railways should be nationalized and that the banks that control investment and credit be taken over by the federal government.

The question of the relations of the CCF and the projected labor party was vigorously discussed. Saskatoon delegates proposed a resolution that "this convention fully supports the CCF's policy of allying itself with the CLC in order to give Canada a strong socialist party." But many rural constituencies opposed the idea of a new party and/or the changing of the CCF's name.

Fear that fusion with the labor movement would alienate CCF support in conservative rural areas, the impact of the Big Business campaign smearing organized labor as being gangster-ridden, and concern that the new party might in some way be less socialistic than the CCF have combined to cast doubts in the minds of many CCFers about the new party. The recent statement of President Smith of the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Employees (CLC) that there will have to be a "complete reappraisal of the socialist point of view espoused by the CCF," has no doubt disturbed many.

The debate was resolved with a straddling resolution, drafted by a committee which included Douglas and Carlyle King, and which was adopted with no opposition. It endorsed the exploratory discussions but urged that no decision be made until the proposal has been discussed at constituency conventions and a decision arrived at at a provincial convention of the Saskatchewan CCF.

Vanguard Opens Drive for $2000

We've been receiving some warm expressions of approval of recent issues of the **Vanguard**. Many of our readers have been telling us of their recent enthusiasm over the excellent work our mobile subscription campaign unit is doing through Ontario to keep well up and strengthen the **Vanguard's** position on the political map.

So all in all every one of you should be in a good mood to respond to this announcement of our yearly financial drive.

We need a minimum of $2,000 by September 30. That is a modest sum and a practical sum to raise. Besides, it's the minimum required to keep us operating through the coming year, to meet the deficit we incur with each subscription, the cost of papers distributed for promotional purposes, etc.

Last year a new reader sent us a couple of dollars with the happy comment that if every reader sent in that amount, which many would hardly miss from their pocket, that we would easily make our objective. If this were to happen to us this year, as Canada's fastest growing paper of the left, we would have more than triple our objective. But don't count on anyone else. We are counting on you to send us what you can—as much as you possibly can.

In the past year the pulse of the class struggle in Canada has quickened. Matters of big importance loom on the horizon. Canada's socialists need the **Vanguard**. The editors need your help. Don't wait for anyone or anything, but send your donations in now to 569 Yonge Street, Toronto.

The Workers Vanguard

Mid-September, 1959 Vol. 4, No. 10(46) 23 Toronto—Price 5 cents

Dief Backs US in Laos Plot Another Korea?

By ROSS DOWSON

For the seventh time in succession, making it every time since 1953, every time that the issue of China's representation in the United Nations has come up—Canada voted No ! India's Krishna Menon chided the Canadian delegate, recalling that last February the former Canadian Minister of External Affairs Lester Pearson querried "How long are we going to be able to support the US position?", and suggesting that his successor, Sidney Smith, had expressededed similar sentiments. But the Canadian delegate voted with the US resolution to keep the question off the agenda.

This time the excuse is Laos—"the indisputable evidence presented by Laotian foreign minister that the rebels in Laos are directed by Hanoi and Peking. Speaking to a convention of the Young Liberals, Liberal leader Pearson stated that "I am not prepared to criticize the government on this matter" — Chinese aggression in Tibet and Laos, he believed, had destroyed any chance of an increase in support for Chinese admission to the UN.

Two weeks previously Canada's permanent UN representative backed up the 10 to 1 vote of the Security Council to appoint a subcommittee to look into charges of Communist aggression in Laos, assumed to be a reality by US representative Henry Cabot Lodge because 'the newspapers are full of it. It is common knowledge."

According to the headlines, the fighting between the Royal Laotian Army and Pathet Lao, an anti-imperialist movement of peasants and tribal peoples described as "pro-communist" by the capitalist press, commenced following meetings between Khrushchov, North Vietnam and Chinese government heads.

But GLOBE AND MAIL staff reporter William Stevenson wrote from Hong Kong, September 3, "Commonwealth diplomats have been generally concerned with events in Laos all summer. One month before Mr. Khrushchov is said to have conspired to provoke the Laotian crisis, Commonwealth capitals had been informed that impetuous anti-Communist measures in Laos might precipitate a fresh outbreak of fighting."

From Stevenson's dispatches it is apparent that the Laotian government, a mere puppet of the US State Department, has no support amongst the population. "There is little doubt," he writes, "these guerrillas could trample all over the Royal Laotian army, if Laos were abandoned by the West."

"More US aid dollars per capita have been poured into Laos than almost anywhere else in the world. One result has been corruption, inefficiency and mismanagement involving possibly the biggest concentrated waste of greenbacks since the decline and fall of Chiang Kai-shek's mainland regime."

"In four years," writes Stevenson, "the US has spent 161 million in its support (The Royal Laotian Army of 25,000 which exists a least on paper), not counting weapons and other direct military assistance."

Stevenson reports that the Royal Laotian Secretary of State for Education told a Globe and Mail correspondent "we need more money."

See DIEF BACKS—page 4

Khrushchov's Visit Signals USA Retreat in Cold War

By THE EDITORS

Khrushchov's grandstand tour of the United States is a bitter pill for Wall Street to swallow. One doesn't have to search the record since US participation in the armies of intervention that sought to strangle the Russian Revolution at its birth to be aware of the irreconcilable hostility of the rulers of America to the USSR. No sooner was World War II ended when top Allied military strategists openly suggested that their forces be launched against the USSR. With the cold war and its massive arms build-up, military bases were constructed across the globe directed against the USSR. The world was led right up to the brink of the Third World War—an H Bomb war—time after time.

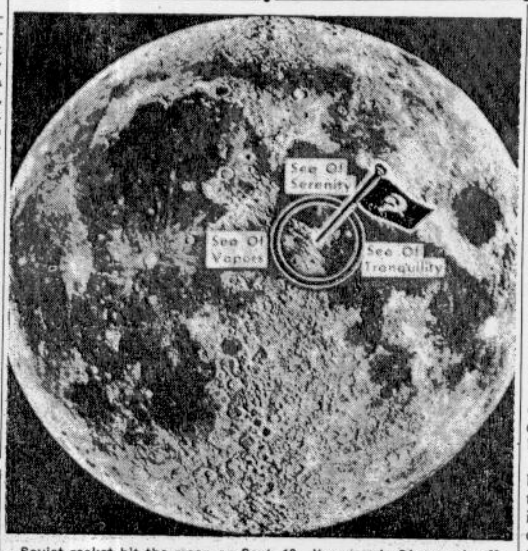
Now, this era of world politics has come to a close. We are entering into a period of what has been called peaceful coexistence. What does it mean for the peoples of the world? This can best be grasped from understanding what has brought about this change.

It is due neither to the removal of Dulles the man most identified with the cold war, actually launched by Truman and Churchill, nor a new found strength in President Eisenhower. Nor is it due to clever maneuverings or diplomatic pressures exerted by the Kremlin through Khrushchov.

Its timing has been designed to build up the Tory government of MacMillan, to defeat the Labor Party bid for power in the British elections, and to give the Republican party prospects in 1960 a boost and help vice-president Nixon to win the presidential race.

But what underpins it all is the whole series of stunning setbacks to Wall Street's imperialist ambitions. The decisive factor that has led to the new turn in international relations is the change in the relationship of forces between the revolutionary movements of the peoples and the defenders of the old order. The advances and pressures of the revolutionary forces have proved powerful

See Page 3—EDITORIAL



Soviet rocket hit the moon on Sept. 13. It was only 84 seconds off the schedule Soviet scientists predicted.

U.S. STEELWORKERS FIGHT BOSS & GOVT. OFFENSIVE

By JEAN LePLANTE

The over 500,000 US steel workers, who after months of fruitless negotiations were forced to strike, have now been out for 11 weeks.

The steel corporations are spearheading a general employer offensive against labor. The Steelworkers, bearing the brunt of the attack, are US labor's front line fighters. "The preliminary barrages have been going on for a long time," declares a front page editorial of the National Maritime Union Pilot. "This is what the billion-dollar smear campaigns against labor have been aiming at." The editorial concludes by emphasizing that "the battle the Steelworkers are in today is the fight for the future" of labor.

The Canadian press has been full of items about high wages of steelworkers and the danger of increased inflationary price hoists if the companies met the workers' demands. But, "the bogeyman of 'wage inflation' is just so much boob bait to hook a gullible public," writes Tom Kerry in the American socialist weekly The Militant. "In those publications circulated in the business community the real issue is put with blunt frankness."

A lead editorial in the WALL STREET JOURNAL entitled "The Issue of the Strike," affirms that the "real sticking point" is "the issue of work rules; who is to have the power of decision over the actual working operation of the mills —management or the union." This is the formula under which the corporations are demanding a surrender of working conditions established over two decades.

"It is not an issue peculiar to the steel industry," says the editorial. "There is hardly a major industry in which it is not today a pressing question."

"Indeed," says the Wall Street Journal, "if the steel union had been willing to make concessions to the steel companies' authority over their plants, the steelworkers would be on the job this morning, and probably at higher wages." The so-called "wage inflation" issue is here revealed to be a hypocritical veil to screen the real issue of a corporation conspiracy to jettison union conditions on the job—and not alone in steel but in all "major industry".

Hand in hand with the employers' assault against the unions in the mills and factories of America —a coalition of labor-hating Democrats and Republicans have pushed through anti-labor laws that go far beyond the Taft-Hartley "slave-labor" act. The new fetters outlaw such vital adjuncts of the unions' economic struggle as the secondary boycott and the refusal to handle "hot cargo". In addition, through the so-called "bill of rights" for union members, passed with the excuse that the labor movement is an enterprise of racketeers, gangsters and thugs, the government gains greater scope for interference in labor's internal affairs.

As Eisenhower eases the tensions in Soviet-American relations, he is intensifying his intervention on the side of the corporations in their war against the unions. Now that the vast stockpiles built up

See US STEELWORKERS—page 2

RALLY SPURS LABOR PARTY

By P. KENT

The Canadian Congress of Labor-CCF national seminar on the new party held in Winnipeg last month received the big treatment in the capitalist press. **Saturday Night** challenged that the meetings of some 300 hand-picked CCF and trade union leaders "produced no positive results, or if they did, none that was communicated to the country." Then it went into its act of explaining why a labor party has "no serious reason to come into existence" with the old chestnuts that there is no class structure in Canadian society, no concentration of wealth, a welfare state "beyond the wildest dreams of the early socialists."

The Toronto Star sent top editorial writer Dillon O'Leary to Winnipeg to inform its readers that "the labor-CCF hopes for a new party which will replace the Liberals or Conservatives seems a mirage" all because it appears that there just isn't any leader of towering stature around to promote it. The Globe and Mail worked hard on the absence of official representation from the various farm unions, (although leading activists were there in a private capacity) without which it claims the new party will be incapable of getting off the ground.

Bay Street's Financial Post took a slightly different tack. After remarking that the seminar was a "very thin affair" it suggested that the new labor party had arrived; but that the "going is likely to be tough" for "this still nameless marvel which was born in a Tower of Babel."

To be sure no definite programmatic documents were presented and voted upon by the 119 CCFers, 116 unionists and the 33 farmers who attended upon special invitation of the joint CLC-CCF national committee. No final decisions were made as to the exact set-up, the relations between the CCF constituency clubs, trade union affiliates, etc. No allowance was made for this.

The declared purpose of the seminar was to discuss a series of documents that compile the many viewpoints expressed in CCF-trade union conferences held across the country over the past year. The Winnipeg discussion was to be used as a guide by the joint CCF-CLC committee for more comprehensive and definite plans to be finally submitted for approval and amendment to the national con-

See WINNIPEG RALLY—page 2

Br. MD's Hit AMA Favor Health Plan

The British Medical Association, in the August 27 issue of its official weekly, THE JOURNAL, blasted the American Medical Association for its persistent campaign of misrepresentation of the facts about Britain's national health services.

Ridiculing the charge that the British people do not have free choice of doctors, the Journal, counter-charged that they have "a freer choice than patients in the USA whose freedom to choose is restricted by their ability to meet the doctor's bill." Scoring a charge of assembly line medicine made by a member of the AMA's board of directors, the Journal warned the AMA that if they want "to be well prepared to deal with governmental plans for introducing compulsory health insurance in the USA, they would be wiser . . . to find out how far American medicine falls behind in its services to the great American public."

The annual conference of the Prince Edward Island division of the Canadian Medical Association heard the same warning about a possible national health plan if the profession doesn't give the public what it wants. Dr. E. K. Lyon, deputy to Prince Philip, president of the CMA, while admitting that Canadian governments have intervened as little as possible, urged that in "self defence" the Canadian medical profession should further explore the field of co-operation between its own medical plans and those promoted by the insurance interests.

"There was a time when we could hide behind the possible cost" of a national health program, he declared, "but the present indications are that governments at all levels are becoming less fiscally responsible. . ."

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VANGUARD BOOSTERS INVADE WESTERN ONT.

By JOHN BANNON

After returning from Rouyn-Noranda and completing the northern leg of the tour, the members of the Socialist Educational League operating the Vanguard Mobile Unit headed into Peterboro. Here we added some 90 new subscribers to the rapidly growing circulation of Canada's now most widely-read socialist paper, in addition to selling books and pamphlets to trade union militants and CCF supporters.

We found Peterboro and district a relatively inactive area politically, despite heavy layoffs in the electrical industry which the union leadership is doing little to combat; albeit more than others we could name. We also found the CCF very weak in this important industrial community, partly due, no doubt, to the failure of the leadership of the 4,500 member local of the United Electrical Workers (Independent) to support independent labor political action in any meaningful way. CCFers informed us that only 20 active campaign workers turned up during the recent provincial election, in which the party received a mere 2,000-odd votes.

The tour then returned to Toronto to pick up the new issue of the Vanguard before invading southern Ontario. First we made brief stopovers in St. Catharines and Woodstock where we rolled up some 40 new readers and renewed old acquaintances. Next the tour moved into London for a couple of days where a score or so new subs were picked up. Before leaving we distributed the CNR shops, and General Steelwares plant, where the conspicuous absence of younger workers was graphic evidence of the heavy unemployment becoming typical of industrial centers in Ontario since the beginning of the recession.

The oil city of Sarnia was the next stop. There is a general level of prosperity, relatively good wages and little or no unemployment, which not unexpectedly reflects itself in the almost complete absence of political activity. However, many rank-and-file militants are indignant at the union leadership for the poor settlement reached after the recent 97-day strike at the crown-owned Polymer Corporation and received the paper with interest.

Three days later we moved on into unemployment-stricken Windsor, where the ranks of jobless and laid-off workers are more massive than in any other part of Ontario. One Ford worker with 20 years seniority tells us that he's been laid off for nearly two years, and with unemployment insurance exhausted was having to maintain himself and his family on city relief and meagre SUB benefits.

This desperate situation demonstrates the crying need for the union movement to take up the demand for a shorter work week—30 for 40—which was dumped by the UAW brass to make way for Reuther's profit-sharing gimmick. As we continue our work in Windsor, we are confident that more and more rank-and-file workers will become more receptive to our ideas, as only the socialists present a program which will meet their needs.

The Workers Vanguard #46-Sept 1959

Vancouver Reports Successful Forum

By IAN MacPHEE

On Saturday, August 22, a highly successful Socialist Regroupment Forum was held in our forum headquarters at 875 East Hastings in Vancouver. The subject, The Role of the Negro Struggle in the Fight For Socialism, was aptly handled by a well-known Negro speaker in the Seattle area, Clyde Carter, well versed in the problems of the Negro struggle, socialism and the trade union movement in the US.

The other speaker of the evening was the well-known Canadian socialist and our old friend Malcolm Bruce. One other speaker, steelworker Cory Campbell, was unable to attend due to illness. In her first appearance in Canada, Clyde Carter did a wonderful job, so we hope that this will be the first of many visits to Canada. Bruce did the usual splendid portrayal of the situation as only he can do. Fred McNeil also did his customary outstanding job of chairing the meeting. A very interesting talk ensued, followed by a very lively open forum when the meeting was turned over to the floor.

After the meeting an informal social took place. All attending had a very good time. Singing, dancing, and just sitting around having an old-fashioned gab session. It was with regret that we had to call time on the midnight hour.

Vanguard Drive Requires Spurt to Make Objective

We've nothing to worry about—that is if the VANGUARD'S friends reaffirm the traditions that they have established during other campaigns and honor the commitments that they have made—within the next few weeks. With two weeks to go we are considerably behind where we should be in our campaign to place a $2,000 foundation under the WORKERS VANGUARD. As of September 15 we had $926.11—less than half of our objective.

Charles Le Mesurier of Vancouver has set a fine example. Expressing the hope that the Vanguard will become "a weekly in the near future," Charlie apologized for his $2 donation because he has been "unemployed most of the time during the summer months and all the time during the winter months under this belated 'free enterprise'." But that $2.00 looks good to us and a slew more, contributed in the same spirit, is just what will put us over the top.

We hadn't heard from George of Powell River for almost four years. A few days ago we did. He enclosed a $10 bill to renew his subscription, to cover the cost of a copy of James P. Cannon's Notebook of an Agitator, and the rest to go to our drive. He and his wife, he writes "look forward to receiving the paper with its interesting articles. It helps to overcome the feeling of isolation which many progressive-minded people have when living in small company-dominated areas." Thanks George, and we might say that we like very much to have our feeling of isolation to Canada's metropolises overcome. We are anxiously looking forward to hearing from all our readers on the highways and by-ways that stretch across the continent.

A group of Prince Rupert rooters for the socialist press have made two sizeable contributions. Lloydminster boosters have come through with their usual strong support. Donations from Magna Bay, Cranbrook, Entwistle have been adding onto the Western total.

But what is the word from Vancouver? The next mail will in all probability alter the whole picture decisively—but so far the Vancouver objective of $500 has only $37 tallied to its favor.

Toronto has $787.11 paid up on its $1,250 objective. According to their campaign director Harry, pledges have already been made that just about cover the objective There are dozens of friends and sympathizers to be seen—many of whom in the past have contributed heavily to these once-a-year campaigns to free the editors of financial worries and enable them to go about their job of making the paper a more effective instrument in the struggle for a socialist Canada.

Harry tells us that the Toronto drive has been set back by the terrific amount of time and energy that the members of the Socialist Educational League expended in the acquisition and decoration of their new headquarters. He assures us that they will reach and top their objective in the next couple of weeks.

The next issue of Vanguard will tell the tale. Let us hear from you through our new address at 81 Queen Street West, Toronto 1,

The Workers Vanguard

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DROPS CIVIL DEFENCE DIEF URGES SHELTERS

By CLIFF COTTON

It's every man for himself now! Over the past dozen years or so the government has spent on the average 1.7 billion dollars a year on what it calls defense. The bulk of this vast sum went to erect warning devices such as DEW line, Pine Tree line, etc. They claimed that this would leave enough time to evacuate cities in the event that the USSR, which they picture as itching to launch an armada of ICBM's and bombers across the northern tundra, actually does so.

Now those in high authority have publicly admitted that there is no possibility of evacuation. Not openly to the people, of course. They have admitted the bankruptcy of their whole policy by an announcement. At the Federal-Provincial Conference on Civil Defense, Minister of Defense Pearkes urged that all "prudent homeowners" build do-it-yourself A shelters.

All the civil defence organizers with evacuation plans for the cities are by-the-board now! There will be no civil, no organized defence! You're on your own!

Dumping his whole previous outlook, Pearkes now has the audacity to recommend that all "prudent homeowners" build A shelters. "Any man who's handy with a saw and hammer can build one in his basement or in his backyard. For a couple of hundred dollars this shelter will provide effective protection against fallout."

Of course, many city dwellers have no backyard or basement to put them in. And then again, many people will be unable to shell out "a couple of hundred" bucks.

The planned shelter has no sanitation or heat provisions. But then, as Mr. Pearkes says, the shelters are only intended to be used for 24 hours, and therefore heat and sanitation are not required. But, according to a report by the Royal Australian Navy, the Monte Bello Islands are still "dangerously radioactive" three years after the last British A-bomb tests.

To top this off, the same army committee that recommended the shelters to Pearkes, has stated that, in spite of the most rapid teletype communications system being used, people will have only five to ten minutes to get to a shelter if a missile is launched from a submarine.

If this bomb were a 20 megaton bomb, such as Peter Whitehouse

See DO-IT-YOURSELF—page 2

Do-it-yourself A Shelters

in the Sept. 26 issue of **Saturday Night,** says would likely be used in an H bomb war, it would produce a crater 512 feet deep, 3780 feet across, causing a vast groundshake and earth roll. What would this do to Mr. Pearkes' shelters?

According to Mr. Whitehouse there would be, in addition to this earthquake that would be felt for miles around, the effects of thermal energy. This would make a blazing inferno of everything for 50 miles around. Then add hurricanes, four of them over a period of a few days, ranging up to 200 miles an hour, making the center of the city like the draft at the bottom of a chimney.

Mr. Whitehouse concludes ". . . such an attack would kill 120 million from blast, heat, initial radiation . . . etc. The remaining 51 million—would be killed in a space of a few days . . . by intense radiation which would blanket the whole area of the US (and the populated parts of Canada — editor)."

In view of these facts, can it be said that there is any civil defense? Over a million dollars were wasted on Metro Toronto civil defense preparations alone over a period of just five years.

The government is much better acquainted with the facts than Peter Whitehouse or ourselves. It even has secret conferences, and information is deliberately withheld from the public, such as the recent Federal-Provincial Conference on Civil Defense. This meeting was held in complete secrecy, and even the letter of resignation

(Continued from page 1)

of the chief of the civil defense, Major-General G. S. Hatton, has been suppressed.

Since the government knows the shelters are useless, why is it advocating the building of them? The only conclusion that can be drawn is that it seeks to maintain the psychological preparation of the Canadian people for the war that is in the offing. They want to continue the military spending that has become essential to maintain the functioning of the capitalist economy.

In the first five months of this fiscal year, while Eisenhower, Diefenbaker and Khrushchov talked peace and disarmament, Canada's defense spending went up 10 per cent. And while they talk about a unified and independent Germany, Canada, far from withdrawing its infantry and air forces from West Germany is in the process of streamlining supply maintenance services and hammering out a program of aircraft standardization. As a partner in the NATO war alliance, Canada has agreed to the arming of West Germany with surface-to-air and air-to-air guided missiles heretofore forbidden under the Western European Union.

And of course the Canadian government said "aye, aye, sir," to the American State Department's decision to plank an intermediate range ballistic missile base on Turkish soil, which it boasts can be directed against points anywhere in the European part of the Soviet Union and most of central Asia.

The CCF MP's should demand to know what's happening behind the closed door meetings. If only from the indisputable fact that there is no defense, they should speak out against, and refuse to vote for, any money being spent on so-called 'defense. They should protest all the government's war moves under cover of peace talk, and demand withdrawal from NATO.

The Workers Vanguard

#47 - Oct. 1959

Fisher's Bid Defeated

ONT. CCF ACCLAIMS NEW PARTY

An otherwise uneventful convention of the Ontario CCF was stung into life in its closing sessions on October 12 by the CCF MP from Port Arthur. With a last minute attack on CCF participation in the launching of the new labor party, Douglas Fisher made a bid for the presidency.

Ex-school teacher Fisher, who joined the CCF just prior to the 1957 elections when he defeated former Trade Minister C. D. Howe, has been widely acclaimed as a mature and most responsible member of the house by capitalist press correspondents and Liberal-Tory machines. In recent months he has been bombarding CCF members through the pages of the NEWS with classic bourgeois attacks on almost every aspect of socialist ideology.

But without giving the assembled delegates even a hint of his views in any of the previous sessions of the convention, in his nomination speech, not subject to rebuttal, he charged that the "new party idea as it is going on now can be a death blow to the CCF and mean disaster for the labor movement.

Fisher was nominated by CCF MP Arnold Peters and supported by the only other CCF MP in the east, Murdo Martin. Apparently worried about holding his seat, Peters charged that the CCF provincial leadership had failed to consider a number of problems, which he failed to specify, faced by Northern Ontario residents.

The delegates replied to Fisher's attack on the labor party by backing and electing UAW research director Carroll Coburn to the presidency. Then to settle the question they rejected both Fisher's and Peters' bid for election as two of the five vice-presidents. William Sefton, chairman of the Political Action Committee of the Toronto Labor Council and member of the National CCF Council, announced his candidacy for vice-president following Fisher's bid for office. Sefton was elected.

The newly elected President Carroll Coburn stated that he regarded his vote as an expression of confidence "in our march toward a new party." While the ballots were being counted CCF provincial leader Donald Macdonald declared "I am firmly convinced that development of the new party is the most important political development of our lifetime."

Fisher's claim to be representing the views of his constituency supporters was denied by the provincial organizer in an interview. It appears that not only did Fisher fail to attend the Sept. 10-20 Port Arthur workshop but not a dissenting voice was heard at the workshop.

ENDORSES BC CCF PENDING NEW PARTY

For the first time in its history this year's BC Federation of Labor (CLC) convention was not addressed by the provincial minister of labor. Minister Lyle Wicks, mid-wife of the infamous anti-labor Bill 43, was not invited.

Amidst great enthusiasm the delegates voted 360 to 40 in favor of supporting the CCF in the coming provincial elections pending the formal appearance of the new labor party scheduled early in 1961. The CCF has been for some years the official opposition and was the only real opposition to the union-busting Social Credit legislation.

In reply to BC provincial Liberal leader Ray Perrault's charge that no other party was given an opportunity to appear, federation secretary Pat O'Neal asked "who did he think we should have invited from the Liberal Party—Joey Smallwood, the Liberal who tried to smash the IWA in Newfoundland, or George Gregory, the Victorian Liberal who voted for Bill 43."?

It was a pity Perrault had not been a delegate to the convention, challenged O'Neal — then he could have voted against the decision to throw support behind the CCF along with two Liberal trade unionists, two Social Crediters and the Communist Party.

The Communist Party (formerly the Labor Progressive Party) has so far announced almost a score of nominees for the provincial house, including one who will contest CCF leader Strachan's seat in the next election.

The Workers Vanguard #42 - Oct. 1959

Celebrate New Hdqtrs Vanguard Drive Success

Toronto friends of the WORKERS VANGUARD celebrated the ver-subscription to their $1,2 campaign in support of the paper in that area, and the opening up of the Socialist Educational League's new headquarters with a gala banquet and dance on Saturday, Oct. 24.

Some 70 people were there to enjoy a delicious and bounteous full course meal. The modern and spacious hall with its tile floor, Swedish glass fixtures and acoustic tile ceiling, and the well-equipped lounge to the rear, were brimming and overflowing with joy and confidence. Old friends were renewing acquaintance, new friendships were being established when the MC welcomed and seated the guests. Back of the head table against the blue wall was displayed a large, brilliant, scarlet banner with the portraits of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky painted in black and white across it. At the other end of the hall on the jet black walls were two colorful paintings on loan from a talented Toronto artist, one depicting foundry workers at labor and another a portrait, suggested by some during the evening, of E. P. Taylor, and others, of a certain windy US senator.

Following a varied program of speeches, and several selections by a talented folk-singer, the hall was cleared and new arrivals joined in the festivities and dancing to music supplied by an excellent combo on into the night.

While Toronto supporters did the celebrating, this year's drive to accumulate $2,000 to see the VANGUARD into the next year should be a source of great satisfaction for all who participated in it. When we closed the books, $1,796.73 had come in—we had not made our objective. But another $310 has been guaranteed by Vancouver. Our actual count therefore is $2,106.73—just $106.73 over the top.

Money was tighter this year than it has been over the past several years but with the $310 guaranteed by Vancouver this makes the largest sum that has ever been raised by the Vanguard. The Vanguard's broader base was sufficient to make up for the inability of some of our supporters to give as much. Several new cities and towns have turned up in our column. Lloydminster increased its contribution by a third, both Prince Rupert and Magna Bay doubled their donations but to accumulate its record $1,322 Toronto had to count on the support of a wider number of persons than ever before.

Well, we did it again! The Vanguard is going to keep coming out. In response to this splendid gesture of support from our readers, the staff will make every effort to improve it as an instrument in the struggle for a socialist Canada.

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Drop in on our new location and examine our more extensive stock — if out of town, order by mail

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The Toronto Labor Bookstore

81 Queen Street West

The Workers Vanguard

#48 - Nov. 1959

Cross-Country Round-up Shows —

TRADE UNIONS GETTING BEHIND NEW LABOR PARTY

OFL PAC UNANIMOUS

Some 800 representatives of Ontario union local Political Action Committees were unanimous in their support of the political action policy statement presented to the Ontario Federation-PAC pre-convention rally at Niagara Falls on November 1. The resolution reaffirmed OFL endorsation of the new party and recommended that a drive be launched to get union locals committed to its support, thereby assuring their "representation at the founding convention on an equitable basis to be decided by the National New Party Committee," composed of CLC and CCF tops.

A few days later the smaller gathering of official delegates to the Ontario Federation of Labor convention endorsed the resolution in their overwhelming majority—with a scattering of delegates identified with Communist Party policies, some of whom a few days previously had voted yes, voting no or absenting themselves from the vote.

ALTA CIVIL SERVICE QUITS

When questioned about CLC secretary Donald MacDonald's claim that the press distorted and misrepresented his position on the new labor party, CLC president Claude Jodoin referred an Ottawa newspaperman to a previous statement that "the Congress and I as its president believe that the need for a new party is greater today than it was even a year and a half ago." Jodoin affirmed that the CLC as such would not affiliate to the new party but, while affiliates will remain free not to do so, the congress will urge all affiliates to get behind the party.

This recognition of the autonomous rights of CLC affiliates did not satisfy the executive of the Civil Service Association of Alberta however. On October 24 some 16 delegates walked out of the convention of the Alberta Federation of Labor because of its support of the new party. On November 6th, despite the pleas of CLC vice-president Dodge, 81 of the 90 delegates to the 9,000 member association's convention voted to cut all ties.

NEW CLUBS QUESTIONED

The Ontario CCF leader told a TV audience early this month that the New Party Clubs authorized by the National New Party Committee "are the most far-reaching exercise in democracy that Canada has ever witnessed."

As things now stand there are CCF constituency memberships through constituency organizations, and affiliate memberships through affiliated unions, having representation voice and vote at CCF conventions. It has been suggested that representation in the new party conventions be one delegate for every 100 members in the case of constituency associations and one delegate for every 500 in the case of affiliated unions.

The new party clubs, however, are a totally new concept. They are directed to business and professional people. While just six persons are to constitute a club, they have been assured representation at the new party convention.

UAW PAC activist Freddy Prentice queried MacDonald at the OFL-PAC pre-convention rally — since new party clubs of six persons are being assured representation, are six or a few more business and professional people going to get a vote while 500 affiliated trade unionists and 100 constituency members would get only one vote? MacDonald sidestepped the question with the comment that the new party convention would decide the matter.

Whether this attempt by the CLC-CCF brass to give a middle class respectability to the new party and counteract what they consider to be a most unfortunate charge that it will be a labor, a class party, will result in the formation

See UNIONS RALLY—page 4

THE WORKERS' VANGUARD
569 YONGE STREET TORONTO 5, ONT.

UNIONS RALLY TO LABOR PARTY

(Continued from page 1)

of many of such clubs, is hard to say at this time. At a later stage the New Party clubs could be a useful device to pack conventions against working class opinion.

MEET WITH ALL GROUPS

The convention of the Manitoba Federation of Labor instructed its newly elected executive to "take whatever action may be necessary to assist in the formation of the new political party in Manitoba, including meetings with the Manitoba section of the CCF, the Manitoba Farmers union and any other organizations which may be interested in a similar program." The new party was approved by a vote of 216 to 12.

FOR POLICY DISCUSSIONS

While the Ontario Federation of Labor convention marked up a further advance towards the actual founding of the labor party, like all previous assemblies there was no allowance made for discussion on what the actual policies of the new party should be.

John Bruce, vice-president of the International Association of Plumbers and Steamfitters, and a CCF member, criticized the OFL brass for committing its members to a party that hasn't yet been erected and to a policy that has not yet been defined. A few days previously, at the PAC preconvention rally, UAW delegate Hugh Dowson had urged that they should be discussing whether the new party would press for the legal institution of a 40 hour week and favored such projects as the nationalization of the hospitals to implement a full national health plan.

OF INDEPENDENT UNIONS

Rubberworker delegate Stan Thornley explained his switch of support, at the pre-convention rally, to opposition to endorsation of the new party at the OFL convention, on the grounds that the new labor party was not going to be all-inclusive. There was considerable feeling that the new party should get off to a united start with UE, Mine Mill, and the Fishermen, which had been expelled from the CCL at the height of the cold war, and have been barred from the joint CCF-CLC seminars.

Donald MacDonald emphatically declared that "the communist-dominated unions" will not be accepted. But both the Mine Mill and the UE leaderships have badly compromised the fight against the exclusion of any union by their failure to take a position of support of the new party.

Last year the western district convention of Mine Mill went on record "that the trade union movement should not be tied to any one political party." This month at the national UE convention, chairman C. S. Jackson refused to put to a vote a resolution advanced by one of its locals calling for endorsation of the party.

The policy of the Mine Mill and UE leadership enabled Ontario CCF secretary Ken Bryden to advance the phoney argument at the Hamilton seminar, that as far as he knew a union did not need affiliation with the CLC to participate and applications would be considered on their merits. At the OFL convention OFL president Archer was able to make the cutting comment that there had been no application received from Mine Mill or the UE to the new party.

SASK UNION RALLY ADOPTS PEACE PLAN

The Saskatchewan Federation attended by 200 delegates endorsed the moves of the CLC in regard to the new party. It also adopted motions calling for cessation of nuclear weapon tests, the seating of China in the UN and the urging of the Canadian government to take a role in promoting international disarmament, outlining that Canada, as practical steps in this direction, should "(a) refuse to permit any foreign power to establish military bases in this country; (b) refuse any foreign power permission to transport military supplies or weapons anywhere in or over Canada; (c) substantially reduce our own armed forces and military budget immediately; (d) withdraw from all pacts, treaties and power blocs that threaten the peace of the world."

Theory as a Guide to Action

(From Workers' Vanguard, November 1959 WN#48)

By Alasdair Mclntyre
Member of the British-Socialist Labor-League, on the editorial board of *Universities and-Left Review*, Lecturer in Philosophy; Leeds University

PART 1 (Part 2 -- Dec. 1959 WV#49)
First of a series of two articles reprinted from The Newsletter *(journal of the Socialist Labour League/GB, British Section of the F.I.)*

I.—Theory and Activity

A Marxist movement is apt to be attacked from two sides. Intellectuals see the militant participation in strikes and lockouts and cannot connect this with anything in their own experience. So we get the charge of "mindless militancy"! Militant workers are equally puzzled by our stress on discussion, on argument, on theory. "What good is theory to us?" they ask. "We want action."

At the centre of Marxism is the belief that theory which does not issue in action is mere talk; and that action which is not guided by theory is in the end always condemned to failure. But how does Marxist theory guide Marxist action? This is the question which I want to ask in these articles.

We can begin from the feeling of helplessness which many workers have. They feel that their lives are shaped and dominated by powers and forces far beyond their control. The operations of society appear as a set of impersonal happenings which impinge on men and dictate to them, whereas in fact what happens in society is always the outcome of human intentions, decisions and actions.

* * *

The young Karl Marx learnt from the philosopher Hegel that it is human activity, the power of setting oneself purposes and carrying them out rationally, which makes men different from all other beings in the universe. But of course, what men set out to achieve and what they want, are often very different from what they actually achieve, and what they get.

So they come to see society and human institutions, such as the state, not as the products of human agency, but as powers with an independent existence. Man appears to himself the plaything of non-human forces, part of a system whose laws operate independently of what he thinks and wills. This is what Hegel called "alienation". But Hegel thought that all this came about because of the inadequacies of human thinking.

Men are enslaved by these alien powers because they have not progressed far enough intellectually. Marx argued that this alienation is created by the working of the economic

and social system. "Alienation" is not a word which described men's mistakes about their relation to society; it is a word which describes their real situation in capitalist society.

* * *

Under capitalism the vast majority of men, the industrial working class, do not and cannot have lives that are genuinely their own. They have to sell their labor power to an employer in order to live. The employer expends their lives in making such goods as he hopes will satisfy the demand. The lives of working people are turned into somebody else's property and become something "alien" to them, first in the form of their working day which is given to another, and then in the form of the goods which they make, which belong to the employer and are sold as he wills and as he can, and finally in the form of the social system which exists only by virtue of their work, but whose chief effect so far as the working class themselves are concerned is the loss of their own lives.

It is worth remarking that this essential loss of control over one's own life occurs under capitalism (and under earlier systems of exploitation) even when capitalism appears temporarily to be alleviating its ordinary ills of poverty, unemployment and war. Even under boom conditions the worker's life is dictated to him by others.

Capitalism then is a system in which men's lives are dominated by a power which takes shape as the power of money, the power of ownership of the means of production. Men appear to themselves as helpless because they are in the grip of a system which makes their labor power into a commodity, which needs their labor to produce as the system demands, and their consumer power to buy as the system demands.

The satisfaction of real human need disappears as a purpose. In one sense all men are equally victims of the system. What happens to the capitalist depends upon its workings as much as what happens to the worker. But the important difference is in what happens.

* * *

"The possessing class and the class of the proletariat represent the same human self-estrangement" wrote the young Marx. "But the former is comfortable in this self-estrangement and finds therein its own confirmation, knows that this self-estrangement is its own power, and possesses in it the semblance of a human existence. The latter feels itself annihilated in this self-estrangement, sees in it its impotence and the reality of an inhuman existence."

Because of this the working class is the only class that has the will and the need to abolish capitalism. The only solution to its problems is the abolition of the system, in order to create a society in which human activity is not deformed into a commodity, and in which men begin to shape their own lives. This is the starting point of Marxism, but it is a starting point which already rules out any attempt to solve working-class problems by finding some way out within the system.

The question that is raised is how human activity can become an effective means Of ending the system altogether.

II.—Class and History

One of the things that bewilders workers who have no theory to guide them is the difficulty of finding some order in the variety of forces which seem to operate in society. What Marx did was to show how one could only make sense of these if one looked at the way in which a particular society produces its livelihood at a particular time.

As the mode of production changes, different classes become dominant in the community. So at one time it is the land-owning class which governs, at another time the factory-owning class. What survives through all these changes is the basic division between those who own and control the means of production and those who perform the labor of human society. For these last create the wealth which is taken away from them and which provides the basis for the leisure, the luxury and the culture of the owning class.

There are, therefore, two senses in which all previous history is the history of class struggle. In the first sense there is the history of the struggle between different ruling classes. The rising capitalist class, based on trade and manufacture, gradually built up their power inside the existing social framework and finally take over the institutions of government.

In the second sense the landowners and capitalists struggle in turn against the working class, trying to extract the maximum possible wealth from their labor. Both these reach their historic climax at the point at which the working class can for the first time take the initiative and move to achieve power and to end exploitation. But we may see this and still fall victims to misunderstanding.

For those who look at the rise and fall of the ruling classes of the past and present may be tempted to see the rise of the working class to power as just the rise to power of one more class within the framework of the existing order. But the working class cannot enjoy power within that framework; they can rule only by abolishing the old form of society.

It is not required to take over the institutions of class-divided society; it is required to replace them by institutions which are not designed for purposes of exploitation. This fact, that the working class have only the alternative of continuing capitalism or of ending class society for good, is one that marks off the struggle of the working class from all previous class struggle. *(Emphasis by the Web Ed.)*

A second difference concerns the greatness of what is at stake. On the one hand industrial capitalism has revolutionized the means of production and created such vast wealth that an end to exploitation is possible. On the other hand, it is capitalism whose social forms maintain exploitation, competition and conflict and their outcome in poverty, unemployment and war.

All human values hang on the victory of the working class over the forces that keep these forms in being. Survival itself hangs on this.

Thirdly, and crucially, the working class can only hope to triumph if they are conscious of their task. Earlier classes came to power through the operation of forces which they could not understand. The working class can only come to power if it has become conscious of its own existence as a class. It is important that the upholders of the existing order spend so much effort in trying to obliterate class consciousness, in trying to make workers think of themselves as anything but members of a class.

Thus one central use of Marxist theory is in helping us to understand the need for theory to create a working class conscious both of its past history and its future possibilities. *(Emphasis by the author).*

(Se Pt. 2: 1959-December – WV#49-5)

Civic elections - Dec '54

Dear Jerry:

Just a line! Alan wanted to go out distributing so I am in the store for a few hours x Have received extensive material on your "crimes" and will be dropping you some mail right after the elections x Have Ruth's letter to answer too x But right now we are busy to make the best of the situation in the elections

Press blackout is most complete ever! Probably worried about our new party appeal — on top of that it is going to be a close race between the three and the Star is anxious to get every single labor vote for Hamport Our vote will be very hard x Fortunately we have had a few breaks aside from our two leaflets (B of E & Alan's Mind) 10 min CKFH and 2-7 minutes CFRB — a very good program at a good time x Then Tuesday — CBC TV — possibly a little TV tonight at city hall x

Our boys in Teamsters organized an excellent meeting the other night x

Joe's not qualifying knocked our Nov issue for a loop We'd done preliminary campaign & had planned 3 or 4 days before moving into mayoralty then suddenly we are without any literature x Dropped everything and put heat on printer to get other 2 leaflets out — got them to shove everything aside and we were back in business in 2 days — precious days —

they have only now picked up Vanguard copy
So we will be out after the weekend + the elections
— too bad — but can't be helped

so well write next week

Fraternally

Ross

Hey - how about putting the right postage
on your letters - paid 25 cents at
this end for one you had 5 cents on

BOSSES DRIVE TO SMASH ONT. UNIONS

The Workers Vanguard

Mid-December, 1959 | Vol. 5, No. 1(49) | 23 | Toronto—Price 5 cents

Tories to Take Page From BC, Nfld. Laws

A poisonous brew is being concocted by a conspiracy of corporation directors through their complex of labor-hating organizations and mouthpieces, and their political stooges, for presentation to the next session of the Ontario Legislature. The Tory government, through the newspapers, over radio and TV, will hawk it to the public as having been drawn up upon public demand, designed to bring "reason" into labor management relations and to cut down to size an alleged labor monopoly struggling with the real monopolistic powers of Big Business. But this fiendish brew is designed to knock out, to prostrate the Ontario labor movement so that the employers, after it has taken effect, can cut its heart out and destroy it as a defender of the living standards of the people.

What with Smallwood's fascist-like destruction of the Newfoundland woodworkers union, BC's union-busting Bill 43, and the mounting US anti-labor drive which has culminated in the Landrum-Griffin Act and President Eisenhower's slave labor decree against the steelworkers, organized labor in Ontario has been apprehensive.

When Ontario Labor Minister Daley spoke to the Ontario Federation of Labor early last month he assured the 800 delegates that the "thinking of Premier Smallwood and some of the thinking in other provinces on labor legislation is not my thinking." He expressed confusion as to which of the proposed 51 recommendations in the report last year by the Select Committee on Labor Legislation are or are not desirable. But whatever confusion exists in the mind of Daley or on the part of the organized labor movement will be cleared up after the New Year, according to inspired newspaper reports.

According to the TORONTO TELEGRAM labor reporter, "the law, with stringent curbs on unions, particularly picketing regulations, is already being written . . . it will impose stringent curbs on picketing and wild-cat strikes; regulate union finances and provide lengthy cooling-out periods for major industrial disputes." The TORONTO STAR'S Pat McNenly states "union pension and welfare funds in Ontario will come under government control . . . in addition tighter restrictions on picketing and a longer 'cooling-off' period before strike action."

A preliminary test of strength (or is it a bargaining point like the rumor that the checkoff will be written into the law?) came December 16. On that day the Attorney General's department closed the door to the Operating Engineer's organization of employees of the Workmen's Compensation Board. The deputy minister of labor, backed by the attorney general, has ruled the compensation board a crown agency—and not under the scope of the Ontario Labor Relations Act. This decree has so far resulted in blocking a drive by the National Union of Public Employees to organize 130 hospital and 900 office employees, and the Teamsters union drive at the Ontario government-operated Food Terminal. It has also deprived the unions that represent employees of the Ontario Northland Railway, the Ontario Stockyards and the University of Toronto of all legal status.

The massive anti-labor pincer movement that commenced to close in from Newfoundland and British Columbia is now threatening Ontario, as it has begun to threaten Manitoba and New Brunswick labor. Early last month the 220-member Winnipeg Builders Exchange presented a brief to the Roblin government demanding unions be declared legal entities, a ban on secondary boycotts and amendments to the act to prohibit closed and union shops. For over a year now, New Brunswick teamsters, operating engineers and hod carriers, their strike against Founda-

See SMASH ONTARIO—page 3

Anti H-Bomb Petition Sparks Chain Reaction

By JOHN BANNON

Montreal McGill University students are planning to reinforce an anti-H bomb petition with a massive motorcade to Ottawa Christmas day. The petition, drafted in co-operation with students at Montreal University and Sir George Williams College, calls for a halt to the im-porting of nuclear warheads from the United States by the Diefenbaker government.

This action is one of a series in a chain reaction set off by the meeting called in the University of Toronto's Convocation Hall a couple of weeks ago by a faculty committee for nuclear disarmament. Petitions similar to the U of T's are being drawn up by students and professors at Western University in London, at Ottawa University and Carleton College. Some 341 faculty members at the University of Alberta have sent a petition to External Affairs Minister Green demanding that the Canadian UN delegation oppose De Gaulle's bid to explode atomic bombs in the Sahara. University of British Columbia Faculty Association head Dr. Foulks has issued a statement that he and a "large number" of his colleagues are ready to sign an anti-H bomb petition if asked. Favorable reactions are being registered on still other campuses.

When confronted by the five-man delegation from the U of T disarmament committee, Prime Minister Diefenbaker asserted that the government was doing all it could to promote disarmament. The meagre demands of the Toronto document; 1) the "immediate and permanent" stoppage of nuclear testing and production, and 2) the restriction of atomic weapons to states which are already in possession of them, made it possible for Diefenbaker to pose as a supporter of disarmament on the international arena and to fob off on the committee a specious request for "specific proposals".

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See BOMB PETITION—page 4

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Approximately 35 per cent of all retail sales are being made on credit—half the furniture and appliance sales are on time. Debt owing to instalment plans, small loan companies and department stores and other retail dealers amounts to 1,936 million dollars — almost twice the figure of seven years ago.

GOVT CODDLES CAPITAL WORKERS LEFT IN COLD

When the United States and the United Kingdom decided not to pick up options on Canadian uranium production after 1962-63 and the bottom fell out of the uranium market, (Canada's third largest export) the United Steelworkers wired the government. Workers want to know what plans, if any, have been made for the protection of employees' equity, the telegram asked.

The interests of the uranium companies are being well looked after; just as were A. V. Roe's, when the outmoded Arrow was dropped, and Dosco's interests are, as it closes up Nova Scotia mines.

The government couldn't do enough for the free enterprisers who plunged in to open up the north. The contracts the uranium companies were granted, guaranteed repayment for their plants during the life of the contracts. The contracts are gilt-edged—they are with the Canadian Crown Corporation, Eldorado Mining Company, signed by agents of Her Majesty the Queen. The lack of risk didn't dull the initiative of Consolidated Denison—in 1959 they more than doubled their 1958 profits.

As to be expected, when the bottom fell out, the government didn't leave such multi-million dollar mining companies as Rio

See WORKERS LEFT—page 2

CEYLON LEFT APPROACHES POWER

By PETER SHANE

The government of the Dahanayake-led Sri Lanka Freedom Party fell on Dec. 4. The people of Ceylon face an election this March. The opposition, the revolutionary socialist Lanka Sama Samaja Party has already begun its campaign. This party, which has been in the vanguard of the people's struggles since its inception, poses clearly the question to be faced by the Ceylonese people—socialism or capitalism. This is in marked distinction to the confusion that reigns among the capitalist parties.

The need of the under-industrialized Ceylonese nation is planned capital investment. In 1947 Ceylon won its national independence from British imperial rule; but the Ceylonese people did not win their freedom with it. Today 40 per cent of the vast plantations of this tea-rich nation remain in the hands of the native bourgeoisie, while 46 per cent are still firmly held by foreign capitalists. The policy of the European land-holders is to gain the profits from their Ceylonese "investments", yet when it comes to a question of redevelopment, they transfer their gains to safer havens such as South Africa. The people pay through high prices, poor housing, and through a high rate of unemployment — 137,000 in a total population of approximately 9,000,000.

In answer to this the Lanka Sama Samaja Party presents the following demands: nationalization of the key sectors of the economy, the people's control over the import-export trade to insure stabilization of consumer prices, an effective, nation-wide welfare system, and the broad participation of workers in management to insure the solidarity of a new socialist Ceylon.

What was the last government's answer to these problems? First,

See CEYLON SOCIALISTS—p. 4

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Anti H-Bomb Petition Sparks Chain Reaction

By JOHN BANNON

Montreal McGill University students are planning to reinforce an anti-H bomb petition with a massive motorcade to Ottawa Christmas day. The petition, drafted in co-operation with students at Montreal University and Sir George Williams College, calls for a halt to the importing of nuclear warheads from the United States by the Diefenbaker government.

This action is one of a series in a chain reaction set off by the meeting called in the University of Toronto's Convocation Hall a couple of weeks ago by a faculty committee for nuclear disarmament. Petitions similar to the U of T's are being drawn up by students and professors at Western University in London, at Ottawa University and Carleton College. Some 341 faculty members at the University of Alberta have sent a petition to External Affairs Minister Green demanding that the Canadian UN delegation oppose De Gaulle's bid to explode atomic bombs in the Sahara. University of British Columbia Faculty Association head Dr. Foulks has issued a statement that he and a "large number" of his colleagues are ready to sign an anti-H bomb petition if asked. Favorable reactions are being registered on still other campuses.

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Bomb Petition Sparks Action

(Continued from page 1)

Hall to launch the petition on the Toronto campus was greeted by a leaflet, distributed by supporters of the YOUNG SOCIALIST, which did come to grips with this, the main aspect of the question.

"Petition the government, yes" the leaflet read. "But let us add that the Canadian government should make a first contribution to peace by not increasing military expenditures and carrying on cold war policies as it has been doing."

In bold letters it declared **THE FIGHT FOR PEACE BEGINS AT HOME.**

Cut the Military Expenditures !

Remove US Troops From Canadian Soil !

Withdraw Canadian Troops From Other Lands !

"Why don't we press the Canadian government to cease the installation of nuclear weapons at the 'ready' position on Canadian soil," it asked. And urged consideration: For a Motorcade to North Bay !

At the same time as the U of T petition is a reflection of the increasing concern over the dangers of an atomic war it has stimulated a heightened interest in the whole question of the fight against war. Not just on the Canadian campus but everywhere. The letters to the editor columns of the daily press

contain many letters on many aspects of the question raised and neglected by the petition.

The atmosphere across the country is becoming more favorable for serious action against the government's military preparations—not just from the campus but from the mass organizations of the working class—the trade unions, etc.

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INTEREST RISING ON UNIVERSITY CAMPUS

U of M CCF Club

Participating in the annual mock parliament, the CCF Youth Club on the University of Manitoba campus has advanced a series of far-reaching demands in a program vastly superior to that put forward by the CCF leadership.

Declaring as its aim the construction of a socialist society in which "individuals have the opportunity to develop their personalities to the maximum" the youth club calls for the nationalization of all the basic industries and financial institutions to bring the economy under "the control of the people themselves." The students call for free university tuition, including "living allowances". On the international field their demands include Canadian withdrawal from the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, the ending of nuclear tests, and unilateral disarmament. The students identify themselves with the working class by protesting against the "forces of unreasoning and subversive reaction" that are attacking the trade unions.

Protests Red Baiting

The University of Manitoba Students' Union Council voted to send Winnipeg Alderman Jacob Penner a letter stating that the council believes in free speech. This action was a reply to a gang of engineering students who broke up a November 17 meeting of the Socialist Youth League, youth section of the Communist Party, at which Penner was slated to speak.

Members of the council indicated that they feared that this anti-democratic action would be taken as representing the attitude of the majority of students. Demonstrations of a similar character had been taken against the SYL three times in a single week.

U of T Socialist Forum

The Socialist Forum, an independent socialist youth organization, attracted over 50 University of Toronto students to its first meeting on December 1. Former Communist Party leader J. B. Salsberg addressed the meeting on the prospects of socialism. His talk stimulated many questions, among them; whether it was correct that Stalinism arose from democratic centralism, whether Stalin only did what was necessary under the circumstances, and whether Canada would take the parliamentary road to socialism. The question period, which took up all the time allotted for discussion, showed the interest there is in an organization of this type — the first on the Toronto campus for a couple of decades.

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#49-Dec. 1959

MAN, BC, ONT. DEBATE NEW PARTY PROBLEMS

At its recent convention the BC Federation of Labor overwhelmingly endorsed the new labor party. But pending the formal launching of the party by the CCF and CLC national conventions next year, it declared that it would support the CCF in any intervening provincial election. Since then, under the sponsorship of the BC Federation and the Vancouver Labor Council there have been CCF and Labor get-togethers at the constituency level in the Vancouver area.

The failure to admit to the discussions several independent unions which were high-handedly expelled from the CLC at the height of the cold war and their strategic position in several ridings in BC, has raised confusion in some circles.

The CCF provincial member for Burnaby, Cedric Cox, has told the press in Trail that the new party is unnecessary, ill-conceived, and unlikely to come about in any case. Leo Nimsick (CCF MLA, Cranbrook) and myself," he said, "have been outspoken that if there is to be a new party at all it must include all trade unions in this province, all farm groups and any other people at all who are willing to abide by the constitution of the new party." Cox added that CCF "socialism" would be endangered by the development of a broad labor party.

How the new labor party, which it is now certain will be launched and will activate many thousands more workers than the declining extremely right wing reformist CCF, could be to the right of the CCF, Cox does not explain. It is now apparent that the struggle to win the ranks of Mine Mill, UE, etc., to the labor party will have to be waged against their CP-influenced leaderships who have made it clear that it is not at all a matter of internal democracy in the new party, but that they stand opposed to the very idea of a labor party.

Cox's arguments only play into the hands of the opponents of the new labor party, and, if given heed to by socialists, would only result in their isolation from playing the role that they must in the mass organizations of the Canadian working class.

MANITOBA

The Manitoba CCF has now placed itself firmly behind the new labor party projected by the CCF and Canadian Labor Congress. A resolution which concluded with the following words was passed unanimously by its last month's convention — "that the incoming provincial council and executive committee be instructed to work closely with the Manitoba Federation of Labor and with farm co-operative, professional and small business groups and individuals, for the building of a stronger democratic socialist movement in Manitoba, which will be in line with the development of the proposed new national political movement."

Delegate Ed Smee expressed doubts along the line that he and others "feel a little too much pressure is being used." Fred Tipping voiced fears that the new party program would in some way constitute a further watering down of CCF program. Tipping headed up the struggle at the 1956 CCF national convention against the adoption of the Winnipeg Declaration which summed up, formally wrote finis to the longtime whittling away by the Coldwell leadership of what socialism there was in the party's founding Regina Manifesto.

EVADE PROGRAM

Although the official agenda of the New Party Conference, called on December 5 by the Toronto Labor Council Political Education Committee, stated that the important questions of program and the basis of affiliation to the new party would be discussed, they never were. All the time was taken up with organizational discussion, only 10 minutes being left at the end of the meeting for questions of program and affiliation.

The remarks of the chairman, Steel staff member Bill Sefton, clearly indicated that he considered the program definitely a secondary matter. Pointing to one delegate he stated; "Hugh Dowson has a program, I have a program, everybody has a program but we have no organization." What we need, he said, "is a political machine."

But a political machine is nothing other than the concrete reflection of the political purpose or program. Over a million and a half workers in Canada look to their unions to defend and extend their interests. Given the program — shown the possibilities that lie in their political mobilization—out of their numbers can be rallied the most massive grass roots political apparatus this country has ever seen.

CONTEST TORONTO

The officers, stewards and committeemen of Toronto area unions who attended the December 5 New Party Conference at the Steelworkers Hall, heard Murray Cotterill, Steel publicity director, score the anti-labor drive being waged against the union movement by big business. He then went on to point out that labor must start at the bottom to build the new political party. After discussing the importance of the Toronto Metro area in the Canadian political scene, Cotterill stated that "we must start here to build the base" for the new party.

Union militants who have fought hard over the years to convince the labor council to effectively intervene in the Toronto municipal arena must have felt considerable satisfaction when political education committee member Bill Sefton pointed out that we must run candidates in all the wards across the city. Sefton added that in some cases labor would not run a candidate against what was considered "decent" or "good" elected representatives. What the criterion would be to decide who, other than labor's candidates, were good and decent, Sefton did not specify. But militants intend to keep the PEC to its word that it will run candidates in every ward in next year's election.

Vancouver—
YOU'RE ALWAYS WELCOME AT
The Socialist Information Center
875 EAST HASTINGS ST.
Arrange to celebrate the New Year with friends and associates of the Socialist Forum

Toronto —
The Vanguard Forum
EVERY SUNDAY NIGHT AT
81 QUEEN ST. WEST

The Relationship between Theory and Action

(From Workers' Vanguard, December 1959)

By Alasdair Mctntyre
Member of the British Socialist Labor League, on the editorial board of *Universities and Left Review*, Lecturer in Philosophy, Leeds University

(PART 2 -- Part 1 Nov. 1959 WV 48)
Last of two articles reprinted from The Newsletter (SLL-GB)

III: Intellectuals and Workers

In the first two of these articles I argued that Marxist theory shows us the need for a politically self-conscious working class, which is aware of the possibility and the necessity of a break with the whole existing order of class society.

In this article I want to discuss the respective roles of intellectuals and workers in bringing this about. Lenin saw the unity of intellectuals and workers in a Marxist Party as a precondition of a proper unity of' theory and practice. We can see what he meant by looking at what happens when each group tries to act alone.

* * *

A working class movement without intellectuals is apt to despise theory. Because it despises theory, it has no perspective, no sense of a way forward beyond immediate needs and demands. It fights upon this or that particular issue and is defeated more often than it need be because it lacks any larger strategy. And because of the narrowness of its aims its working class members are themselves hindered from developing intellectually.

The whole British labor movement has been infected by this narrowness. One reason why it is not surprising that this narrowness has prevailed is that the two alternatives which have been most obvious seem equally unattractive.

The first of these alternatives is the recruitment of intellectuals to be mere technicians and propagandists for the labor movement. Since 1926 (*the year of the great General Strike in Britain –ed.)* the Labour Party has increasingly had its shop-window full of bright young men who were able to offer academic justifications for the policies of the trade union leadership. The alliance of such intellectuals with the party and trade union bureaucrats is one of the factors that leads to a suspicion of all intellectuals among honest militants.

At the same time the Communist Party has equally perverted the role of the intellectuals. It had a theory, but a rigid, mechanical and prefabricated theory which has inhibited those intellectuals who have joined it.

In a genuine Marxist party the theory is neither something simply brought from outside by the intellectuals to the party nor something already complete which the intellectuals

have simply to accept. The theory is at once something to which the Marxist intellectual contributes and something through which he grows.

Faced with the alternatives of either acting as backroom boys for the Social Democratic bureaucrats or as office-boys for the Stalinists, many intellectuals have retreated into a socialism which lacks roots in the working class altogether.

* * *

If workers without intellectuals tend to become narrow and lose sight of ultimate aims, intellectuals without workers become pipe-dreamers who see the ultimate aims clearly but can envisage no immediate steps which might lead towards them. (This happens among the 'New Left'.) When such intellectuals realize their predicament, the danger is that they try to remedy this lack of working-class connections by jumping straight into the existing, bureaucratized labor movement and accepting this as if it we're the authentic work class.

Another tendency which is sometimes an effect of this is that which separates 'politics' and ‘culture'. Politics becomes restricted to the immediate objectives, 'culture' becomes a matter only of ultimate ends.

The only way of fighting this is to start out from envisaging the relation between intellectuals and workers in a quite different way.

When theorists like Marx, Lenin and Trotsky (and no Marxist theorist can ever be only a theorist) came into the working class movement, they achieved two different things. They both helped workers to generalize their experience and they helped them to use that experience as a guide to future action.

Without the working-class experience they would have had nothing to generalize from. Without that working-class revolt against exploitation they would have had no signposts into the future. Moreover, it was Marx's experience of the class conflicts of the present which was an essential part of his equipment in understanding the class conflicts of the past. Then by understanding the past, he was able to throw still more light on the present and the future. *(Emphasis by the Web Ed.)*

* * *

A lot hangs here on the way in which intellectuals and workers come together. If Marx had approached the working class movement from the outside as a middle class sociologist, he would never have had working class experience made available to him in the way in which it was *(the* Communist Manifesto *by Marx and Engels was written shortly after after the mass class uprisings in Europe of 1848 centred in Paris – Web Ed.)*

Mere speculative curiosity leads nowhere. The only intellectual who can hope to aid the working class by theoretical work is the one who is willing to live in the working class

movement and learn from it, revising his concepts all the time light of his and its experience.

Finally, a more fundamental point. The distinction between intellectuals and workers itself reflects the divisions of class society, rooted in the most basic division of labor and in the facts of exploitation.

One of the experiences which people have who work in the Marxist movement is that already in their political work this distinction begins to disappear. As workers become increasingly guided by theory, as intellectuals become increasingly *(involved in)* the workers' struggle, so the two groups become one. This is our continual experience in Socialist Labour League as it was in the experience of the Russian Bolsheviks. *(Emphasis by the Web Ed.)*

IV: Good and Bad Theory

The whole aim of Marxist theory is to bring the working class to a point of consciousness where successful political action becomes possible. Marxism therefore, clashes with all those forms of political theory which argue that men cannot understand *(and)* guide social change.

The doctrine that men must remain victims of circumstance and environment and cannot hope to master them is essentially a conservative one. A conservative pictures society as growing like a tree and just as twigs and leaves cannot affect the growth of the main trunk, so individuals cannot effect changes in society. This conservative theory appears in various forms in the labor movement. It appears, for example, in the appeals so often made by right-wing Labour Party leaders to be ‘realistic.' What 'realism' means for them is usually acceptance of the limitations imposed by the circumstances. Behind such an acceptance lies a conviction, which is often never made explicit, that circumstances cannot be changed, or only at best, very slowly.

This belief in the domination of man by environment is also reproduced in Stalinism. Revolutionary failure and collaboration with class enemies is always excused on the grounds that the social objective conditions have not yet ripened, and we must wait until circumstances become favorable.

This inner link between Social Democracy and Stalinism is illustrated by their attitudes to the future development of British capitalism. The Stalinists believe that the inner mechanism of capitalism is such that in the long run it must automatically break down. The Social Democrats believe that the devices used by modern capitalists ensure that the machine will keep going. Both speak from the standpoint of passive observers outside the system who ask, "Will it keep going or not?”

The Marxists' standpoint starts from the view that this question is not a question about the system outside us, but about a system of which we are a part. What happens to it is not a matter of natural growth or mechanical change which we cannot affect. We do not

have to sit and wait for the objective conditions for revolutionary action. Unless we act now such conditions will never arise. One of the aims of contemporary capitalism is to have its crises by installments, with a dislocation in this industry or in that, which will avoid any total breakdown.

Whether this policy succeeds or not depends partly and perhaps largely on how the workers whose conditions of life are under attack in a particular industry respond to that attack.

If they accept their isolation from other workers, the employers' offensive will almost certainly succeed and any general crisis for capitalism will be still further delayed. If, however, the workers begin to co-operate with workers in other industries in planning and implementing a strategy of counter-offensive, then capitalism will be forced back towards crisis. But whether workers will be able to do this depends upon whether they believe in the possibility of effective social action. Only Marxist theory can provide and support such a belief.

Finally, there are three general points about the place of theory in politics which we ought always to keep in mind.

The first is that even the view that theory cannot help us or is unnecessary, is itself a theory. It implies a whole view of society as something whose progress is beyond our control. And this theory is the more powerful for so often being accepted and propagated by people who believe themselves entirely free from theory.

Next it is worth emphasizing how much a grasp of theory can help the individual worker to play his part in the class struggle, not just because it helps him to understand and to act, but also because it can give him confidence in what he is doing.

It is no small thing for a man to consciously take part in class battles. It is easy when times are hard or discouraging for a man to have doubts about the possibilities of advance towards socialism. It is in these circumstances that people are tempted to rely not on themselves, nor on the working class, but on some large, apparently strong organization which can solve their doubts by exhortation and command and which can protect them against the worst of the storm. This is one of the temptations that leads people into and keeps them in Stalinist organizations. It is a temptation against which the best safeguard is a sure grasp of Marxist theory.

Finally, it is only by means of reference to theory that we can remind ourselves, as we ought to, of how great the possibilities in front of us are. The whole point of revolutionary struggle is lost if we think, for example, simply in terms of a series of defensive actions against employers' attacks.

Every event in the struggle is a stage towards a society in which we will have destroyed class antagonism and removed all the waste and frustration in human life which is caused by capitalism. Socialists before Marx saw how urgent and desirable this was; Marxist

theory teaches us how to bring it about. And a first step is to grasp once and for all that, just as theory without action is dead, so action without theory is blind.

(end)